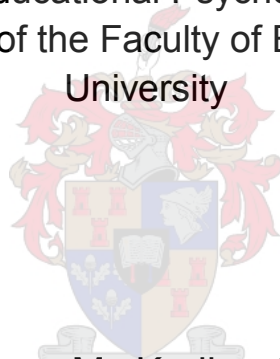


An exploration of the identity formation of adolescents growing up in bicultural households in South Africa

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University



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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof, that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe on any third-party rights, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the identity formation process of adolescents being raised in bicultural households in the South African context. A bicultural household can be defined as a family in which one parent belongs to a specific cultural group, while the other parent belongs to another. In this way, the children grow up with exposure to two sets of cultural norms, practices, values and characteristics. It is believed that the culture with which an individual identifies plays an important role in how the individual views him- or herself and the world (Erikson, 1974). This study aimed to explore how being raised in two cultures can affect the adolescent's personal identity development.

Various theoretical perspectives were applied to understand the process of identity formation in adolescence. Both Erik Erikson's stages of psychosocial development and James Marcia's identity status theory describe adolescence as a challenging period in which individuals explore various identity domains to make decisions regarding who they are. Sameroff's transactional model of development emphasises the importance of parent-child interactions, which is viewed as a reciprocal relationship in which parent and child shape each other during the identity development process. According to social constructionism, individuals create and attach their own meaning to these interactions and thus develop views of themselves and others.

As this study aimed to explore the meaning attached to the experiences of the participants, a qualitative, interpretivist approach was used. The participants were selected by means of purposive sampling and asked to volunteer if they wished to participate. Data were collected through a process of individual interviews, questionnaires, photo elicitation, and field notes. The data were then analysed through a narrative approach, to explore the meaning in the participants' personal stories.

The research findings indicate that bicultural adolescents experience various challenges during their identity-formation years; however, there are also some advantages. It was also found that various factors contribute to participants' stronger identification with a particular cultural group. The participants shared their experiences of how being raised with two sets of cultural norms had influenced the development of their characteristics and values. Furthermore, the findings indicate the extent to which bicultural adolescents feel the need to adapt their behaviour in the presence of family members from each culture.

Keywords: identity, identity formation, biculturalism, adolescence

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie het die identiteitvormingsproses van adolessente wat in bikulturele huishoudings in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks grootgemaak word, ondersoek. 'n Bikulturele huishouding kan gedefinieer word as 'n gesin waarin een ouer aan 'n bepaalde kulturele groep behoort en die ander ouer aan 'n ander. Op hierdie manier groei die kinders met twee stelde kulturele norms praktyke, waardes en karaktereenskappe op. Daar word geglo dat die kultuur waarmee 'n individu identifiseer 'n belangrike rol speel in hoe die individu hom- of haarself en die wêreld beskou (Erikson, 1974). Hierdie studie het ten doel gehad om te verken hoe grootword in twee kulture die adolessent se persoonlike identiteitsontwikkeling kan affekteer.

Verskeie teoretiese perspektiewe is toegepas om die proses van identiteitsvorming in adolessensie te verstaan. Beide Erik Erikson se stadiums van psigososiale ontwikkeling en James Marcia se identiteitstatus-teorie beskryf adolessensie as 'n uitdagende tydperk waarin individue verskeie identiteitsdomeine verken om besluite te neem oor wie hulle is. Sameroff se transaksionele model van ontwikkeling beklemtoon die belangrikheid van ouer-kind-interaksies, wat beskou word as 'n wederkerige verhouding waarin ouer en kind mekaar gedurende die identiteitvormingsproses vorm. Volgens sosiale konstruksionisme skeep individue hierdie interaksies, heg eie betekenis daaraan en ontwikkel sodoende sienings van hulself en ander.

Omdat hierdie studie beoog het om die betekenis wat aan die ervarings van die deelnemers geheg is, te ondersoek, is 'n kwalitatiewe, verklarende benadering gebruik. Die deelnemers is deur middel van doelbewuste steekproeftrekking geselekteer en versoek om vrywillig deel te neem indien hulle wou. Data is deur 'n proses van individuele onderhoude, vraelyste, foto-elisasie en veldaantekening versamel. Die data is toe ontleed deur 'n narratiewe benadering om die betekenis in die deelnemers se stories te ondersoek.

Die navorsingsbevindings dui daarop dat bikulturele adolessente gedurende hulle identiteitvormingsjare verskeie uitdagings ervaar; daar is egter ook 'n paar voordele. Dit is ook bevind dat verskeie faktore bydra tot deelnemers se sterker identifisering met 'n bepaalde kulturele groep. Die deelnemers het ook hulle ervarings van hoe grootword met twee stelde kulturele norms die ontwikkeling van hulle karaktertrekke en waardes beïnvloed het. Verder dui die bevindings op die mate waartoe bikulturele

adolessente die behoefte voel om hulle gedrag in die teenwoordigheid van gesinslede van elke kultuur aan te pas.

Sleutelwoorde: identiteit, identiteitsvorming, bikulturisme, adolessensie

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Firstly, I would like to thank the young ladies who participated in this study. It was an amazing experience getting to know you all and hearing your stories. I hope that you enjoyed being part of this journey and that our time together enabled you to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of your bicultural identity.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late mother, Sally-Ann. Thank you for encouraging my interest in this topic from a young age and for giving me the strong foundation that enabled me to achieve this goal. *Ich bin dir ewig dankbar, Mami!*

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- Addendum A: Permission to conduct study from the Research Ethics Committee of the Humanities Department of Stellenbosch University
- Addendum B: Permission to conduct study from the Western Cape Education Department
- Addendum C: Informed consent form provided to the parents
- Addendum D: Informed assent form provided to the adolescent participants
- Addendum E: Questionnaire provided to the participants at the first interview
- Addendum F: Interview schedule for the second interview
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The focus of this study was to explore how being raised in a bicultural household can affect the process of identity formation in adolescence. This qualitative study aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how cultural norms, beliefs, values and practices had shaped and influenced the identity development of adolescents, specifically those who had grown up within two cultures. The findings of this study aim to enable educators, parents and professionals in the field of child development to assist bicultural adolescents through a smoother process of identity formation by creating awareness of the processes and challenges encountered during this developmental stage.

1.2 Background and motivation

This qualitative study explores the identity formation experiences of bicultural adolescents within the South African context. According to Roger et al. (2018), qualitative research aims to explore the lived experiences that characterise our social and cultural worlds. The authors acknowledge that it is not only the experiences of the research participants that should be considered throughout the research process; one should also keep in mind that the researcher's lived experiences in the form of perceived beliefs, perceptions and hypotheses will play a role in the way that the study is conducted.

Qualitative researchers try to interpret and make meaning of the experiences and stories narrated by their participants, though Elliot (2008) highlights that researchers themselves are also narrators who are faced with the task of communicating their research story to their readers. The personal experiences and thought-making processes of the qualitative researcher will inevitably play a role in the motivation behind their choice of research topic and the way in which they approach their study. These personal experiences, as well as the application of various theories, are also likely to play a role in how the findings of the study are interpreted and presented.

Therefore, I begin this section with a description of my own story as a qualitative researcher that formed the motivation for this study, followed by a literature-based discussion of the background information that further motivated the need for this research to take place.

My interest in the topic of this study stems from my own experience of being raised in a bicultural household. I was always aware that both sides of my family were quite different, however I only became fully aware that many of these differences were primarily culturally-based upon entering adulthood. Having experienced my adolescent years as the most challenging in terms of navigating the expectations of each culture, I wondered how much easier my challenges could have been if my parents or I had been more culturally aware at the time. This led me to question which factors could have played a role in the development of my personal values, beliefs and norms, considering the influence of both my parents' input based on their cultural backgrounds. I was also aware that I shared certain behavioural responses and values with each of my parents. I wondered if these shared features had any connection to which of my parents' cultural norms I had chosen to identify with. This and various other experiences caused me to question to what extent my characteristics had been shaped by culture, together with my innate characteristics causing me to identify more with the values and practices of one of my parents' cultures. My main question over the years was, 'What effect had a bicultural upbringing had on my and other individuals' personal identity development?'

The identity of an individual, within a culture, is a topic of concern across all fields of the humanities (Horowitz, 2012). Horowitz (2012) defines the term 'identity' as a continuity or sameness over time, in the way in which individuals perceive themselves, as well as how individuals are seen by others. Identity can be regarded as the meaning individuals attach to themselves; the development of identity helps individuals to value themselves as persons meaningfully (De Witt, 2009). Identity formation, which is described in the Ego Psychological Theory of Erik Erikson (1950), is said to take place in the stage of adolescence between 12 and 18 years of age (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). During this stage, adolescents face the developmental crisis of Identity versus Role Confusion, where challenges may be experienced as an individual goes through the

processes of self-discovery and finding his or her place in the world. The various stages described in Erikson's theory will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

It has been found that adolescents with a mature identity show high levels of adjustment, have a positive personality profile, and perform well at school (Meeus, 2011). Research also indicates that individuals with a strong sense of identity are better able and equipped to tolerate stress and frustrations, solve moral dilemmas, handle social conflicts, and accept personal mistakes while maintaining a good level of self-esteem (Horowitz, 2012). This means that when a personal error is made, these individuals are more likely to maintain a positive view of themselves, without suffering from inappropriate guilt or blaming themselves or others. Erikson (1980) believed that individuals who fail to develop a strong sense of identity would experience role confusion, which may inhibit further healthy development. His theory argues that a poorly formed sense of identity can lead to low self-esteem, negative behaviour and self-doubt. The findings of a study by Wiley & Berman (2013) indicate strong association between identity distress and symptoms of psychopathology in adolescents.

Erikson (1980) acknowledges the role of significant others and culture in the identity formation of adolescents. During this stage, adolescents need to determine who they are in relation to how they connect with those around them, especially in cultural terms (Donald, Lazarus & Moolla, 2014).

Culture plays a significant role in the development of an individual's worldview. The term *worldview* refers to the way in which an individual views the world through various personal perspectives, such as morally, socially, ethically or philosophically (Lonner & Ibrahim, 1996). It is the basis of an individual's values, beliefs, norms, and assumptions about themselves, their experiences of others and the world around them. Therefore, it is important that the identity of the adolescent corresponds with the social and cultural values and norms in their environment (Donald et al., 2014).

From my personal bicultural experience, I found that it took longer for me to form stable worldviews as I grew older. While many of my monocultural peers seemed to have solid beliefs about various topics as we neared adulthood, while it took a few more years before I felt more certain about what I believed about the world and what was important to me in life. This further promoted my curiosity in which cultural factors could

play a role in the development of a bicultural individual's worldview. Keeping in mind that the term 'identity' refers to a sense of continuity or sameness over time (Horowitz, 2012), it is interesting to consider how this 'sameness' could be interpreted by individuals who are raised within a world of 'difference'. I wanted to explore how an individual could decide what they believe about themselves and the world, when their formative years may consist of constant exposure to contrasting beliefs and norms that could be culturally based.

Naturally, there may also be many cases where parents of bicultural children are less strict with enforcing cultural values and customs in the home. Parents play an important role in establishing the climate in which their children are raised; for bicultural children, this could mean that the way in which their parents approach and foster cultural beliefs may influence how these children perceive their bicultural upbringing. Various studies (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2007; Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2013; Lilgental, 2018; Huynh, Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2018) suggest that positive or negative experiences and memories within each cultural group, may influence how the individual will manage their bicultural identity formation, i.e. whether they perceive their cultural identities as compatible and succeed with integrating them in a harmonious manner, or whether they experience clashes and challenges with this task. This suggestion will be further discussed in chapter 2.

The culture in which one is raised and the beliefs, values and norms that are associated with that culture can influence an individual's sense of who he or she really is (Berry, 1997). This sense of self or self-concept begins to develop in early childhood, when young children begin to form different relationships with themselves, other people, and objects in their environment. Each of these relationships plays a role in the development of a child's identity. The self-concept, or relationship with the self, consists of beliefs that individuals develop about themselves based on previous experiences with others, as well as the expectations that others place on the child (De Witt, 2009). In a household environment where the child is raised, many of these experiences with others and expectations from others will be based on the interactions between children and their parents, within their cultural context.

Children who are raised in bicultural households will have exposure to two sets of cultural norms, beliefs, values and practices that could influence their self-concept and

identity development. For the purpose of this study, biculturalism is defined as belonging to two different cultural groups, where the bicultural individual has one parent who belongs to one specific culture while the other parent belongs to a different culture. Manzi, Ferrari, Rosnati & Benet-Martinez (2014) found that the way in which two cultural backgrounds are combined plays an important role in an individual's identity development. The two cultures could be perceived as either compatible, where the beliefs and norms do not clash and a sense of harmony is experienced, or conflicted, where the individual feels torn between two different cultural identities. This conflicted view may also lead to cultural distance where individuals perceive their two cultural identities as being separate and dissociated. The authors found that an adolescent's perception of conflict between two cultural backgrounds has a negative influence on behavioural problems, and any maladjustment is likely to be externalised. In addition, the process of combining two cultural backgrounds can be regarded as an additional developmental task for adolescents. It may also be a challenge for the norms and expectations of both cultures to be assimilated and made accessible by the individual (Scherman, 2010).

This study focused on adolescents in the South African context. South Africa is a diverse country and home to a population of many different cultural groups (Stats SA, 2011). As mixed marriages in South Africa have increased from a ratio of 303:1 in 1996 to 95:1 in 2011 (Amoateng & Heaton, 2015), many more children are being born into families where they are raised belonging to two cultures. In addition, the world in which modern adolescents find themselves growing up is far more multicultural than that of previous generations (Jensen, 2003). Jensen (2003) claims that adolescents have much more knowledge of and contact with other cultures due to the increase and processes of globalisation. Arnett (2002) found that increased intercultural contact has caused identity issues to become a central psychological consequence. Although various studies have been carried out on identity formation in bicultural or multicultural environments, the majority of these were found to focus on immigrant adolescents who have been raised in one cultural setting and are tasked with adapting to the culture of their new country through a process known as acculturation (Berry, 1997). The relevant literature that did not focus specifically on immigrant adolescents, but rather that of bicultural identity integration (e.g., Chen, Benet-Martinez, Wu, Lam, & Bond, 2012), was found irrelevant to the unique South African context. This study focused

specifically on adolescents who had been raised in South Africa from birth in a bicultural family environment.

Adolescence is the period of life in which identity is of the utmost importance to the individual (Erikson, 1974). It is centred on questions such as, 'Who am I?', 'How do other people see me?' and 'What is my role/place in the world?' Research by Habermas & Bluck (2000) showed that an integrated life story develops in adolescence for the first time, as this is the life stage in which an individual develops the cognitive abilities necessary to integrate autobiographical memories. Adolescents examine their previous experiences with significant others and begin to integrate these to form a view of themselves and the world. The transition from childhood to adulthood also brings with it a level of independence that the individual did not have before. Being able to make one's own choices, including choices regarding how one wishes to be viewed by others, what one's role in society is, and what one's own worldview is, can be a daunting task. The task can be even more challenging when one has been raised in a household with two sets of cultural beliefs, values, experiences, and expectations. Therefore, it will be valuable for researchers to have deeper understanding of the processes and challenges experienced by bicultural adolescents during identity formation. With the increasing number of bicultural adolescents growing up in South African households, the research findings of this study hope to inform and assist South African teachers, parents and other child development professionals to guide adolescents effectively through this developmental stage.

1.3 Problem description and research questions

This study aimed to explore possible answers to the following question: How does growing up as a bicultural individual in South Africa affect the formation of one's identity during adolescence?

The focus of this study was on adolescents who had been raised belonging to two cultural groups, i.e. with one parent belonging to one particular culture and the other parent belonging to another. Globalisation is becoming more apparent and the number of mixed cultural marriages is on the rise (Taylor et al., 2012), resulting in many children being raised in families where the beliefs of two or more cultures are practised and made part of the identity as the child develops. As these children reach adolescence and begin forming their adult identities, there are times when belonging to two or more

cultures can cause confusion in the sense of belonging, making personal identity a challenge (Pollock & Van Reeken, 2009). This study aimed to determine the different ways in which biculturalism affects identity formation in adolescence in the South African context. The findings of this study may assist teachers, parents, and child development professionals to identify difficulties that bicultural adolescents may be experiencing and enable them to facilitate the development of a strong sense of identity in the adolescents with whom they work.

The following sub-questions are derived from the main research question:

- Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?
- What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?
- How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values, beliefs and personality characteristics in adolescence?
- To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

1.4 Research aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of the study are displayed in Table 1.1 below:

Table 1.1. Aims and objectives of the study

Aims	Objectives
This study aimed to explore how belonging to two cultures affects the formation of an individual's identity during adolescence, in the South African context.	1. To determine if individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures.
	2. To investigate what kinds of challenges with regard to identity formation are experienced by individuals belonging to more than one culture during adolescence.
	3. To explore how belonging to more than one culture can affect the development of values, beliefs and personality characteristics during adolescence.
	4. To determine to what extent bicultural individuals adapt themselves socially when in the presence of each culture.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The study is underpinned by Erik Erikson's (Erikson, 1980) stages of psychosocial development, Marcia's (Marcia, 1980) identity status model and Sameroff's (Sameroff, 2003) transactional model of development. Erikson proposed eight stages of psychosocial development that individuals will go through in their lifetime. According to Meyer & Viljoen (2008), each stage is characterised by a developmental crisis emerging at a particular genetically determined age, where the individual needs to solve the crisis in order to progress successfully to the next stage. Each stage needs to be worked through in terms of the individual's total development until that point. This indicates that experiences of the individual from previous stages will play a role in how the current stage is experienced and handled.

The period of adolescence begins at around age 12 with the onset of puberty, ending between ages 18 and 25 with the beginning of early adulthood (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Erikson (1974) proposes that during the adolescent developmental stage, one is tasked with solving the crisis of 'identity versus role confusion' as one moves on from childhood to adulthood. Conflicts between these poles are experienced during adolescence and early adulthood, where the formation of identity is based on overcoming these conflicts (Kim, 2012). Erikson (1980) proposes that during this stage, individuals begin developing a belief system, their own values, sense of self, and personal goals. Adolescents are tasked with a search for identity, where they are trying to come to terms with whom they are and where they are going in life. Part of this search for identity requires adolescents to balance their sense of who they are with how they connect to other people, meaning that identity needs to connect with the broader social and cultural values and norms (Donald et al., 2014).

Marcia (1980) extended the work of Erikson with his identity status model. Marcia established a four-status approach to study the phenomenon of identity. Each status is characterised by exploration of identity domains, followed by commitment to these domains. The relevance and importance of identity elements worth exploring within the domains are influenced by what is valued and accepted in the adolescent's cultural group (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011).

According to Meeus et al. (2010), the four identity statuses are as follows:

- (1) *Identity achievement* occurs when the individual has finished a period of active exploration and has chosen to make a commitment based on this exploration.
- (2) *Identity moratorium* is a state of active exploration, where the adolescent has not yet made any significant commitments.
- (3) *Identity foreclosure* means that the adolescent has chosen to make a commitment without having done much prior exploration.
- (4) *Identity diffusion* implies that the adolescent has not yet made a commitment to a specific developmental task, although he or she may or may not have explored different alternatives in that domain

Identity achievement is the status most highly regarded, as it has been found to be a predictor of positive social and psychological outcomes (Waterman, 2007), while identity diffusion is least regarded, as research has shown that this status is associated with low self-esteem, delinquency, and drug and alcohol problems in adolescence (Adams, Munro, Munro, Doherty-Poirer, & Edwards, 2005).

Sameroff's (2009) transactional model of development emphasises how the development of an individual is influenced by the interactions between the individual and those in his or her social context (Donald et al., 2014). These influences occur differently during the various development stages throughout life. The transactions that occurred during previous developmental stages are carried over to the next developmental stage that the individual enters. Therefore, individuals are shaped not only by their experiences, but also by their current social context.

Sameroff & Mackenzie (2003) claim that the development of any process in an individual is influenced by interplay between the individual and his or her context. This development is a product of continuous interactions between the individual, his or her family, and social environment. Guided by the views of this theory, this study was carried out with the approach that identity formation of bicultural adolescents, as a developmental process, is influenced by the interaction between adolescents and their families belonging to two cultural groups.

1.6 Research design and methodology

This sections aims to provide a brief description of the research design and methodology applied during this study. This includes information regarding the research paradigm, as well as the epistemological and ontological assumptions informing the study. A more detailed explanation of these concepts, as well as how they were applied throughout the study, can be viewed in Chapter 3.

A research design is a logical strategy for gathering evidence about knowledge desired (De Vos, 2005). According to McMillan & Schumacher (2006), research methodology consists of ways in which a researcher chooses to collect and analyse data. These strategies need to be suitable for collecting and analysing the type of data that the study requires in order to achieve its aims and provide valid, informative and useful research findings.

This study consisted of an exploration of how a bicultural upbringing could possibly influence the process of an individual's identity development during adolescence, specifically within the South African context. In order to explore the elements of this topic effectively, I required a research design that would provide a suitable framework for producing data in the form of personal experiences shared by the participants, specifically interactions between the participants and their family members from each cultural group to which they belong. The subjective meanings attached to these experiences would also need to be considered.

According to Okeke & Van Wyk (2015), a qualitative research design explores the subjective aspects of an individual or group being studied and seeks to understand the personal meanings that individuals attach to their actions or situations that they share with the researcher. In addition, Horowitz (2012) suggests that qualitative studies are required to better understand self-identity in relation to culture. Therefore, a qualitative approach was selected as the most appropriate research design for this study.

1.6.1 Research paradigm

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2005), a paradigm refers to what an individual believes and feels about the world, which will guide their approach to understanding and

studying the world. As the emphasis in qualitative research is on interpretation (Wolhuter, 2015), this study was approached with an interpretivist paradigm.

The assumption behind interpretivism is that people construct their own subjective meanings as they interact with the world in which they live (Packer, 2011). Based on interactions in their social worlds, people create and attach meaning to their experiences through interpretation. The interpretive researcher seeks to uncover the meaning that research participants attach to their social worlds in order to understand them (Tshabangu, 2015). The focus is not only on whether facts exist, but also on how the individual interprets them. The interpretivist paradigm enables the researcher to identify the possible meanings that the research participants place on their social interactions with each cultural group to which they belong and how these could affect their identity development.

1.6.2. Ontological and epistemological assumptions

While ontology can be defined as to what is being real in the social world as well as the nature of such a social reality, epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge and how it is acquired (Richards, 2003; Snape & Spencer, 2003). This study is based on the ontological assumption of interpretivism and the epistemological assumption of social constructionism. This suggests that social reality does not exist independently of human understanding and interpretation, but rather relative to subjective meaning.

Both interpretivism and social constructionism acknowledge the importance of understanding the lived (subjective) experience of the individual; the approaches also share the belief that the meaning, that is the constructed reality, attached to these experiences is created by people (Bastalich, 2019), including researcher participation. The difference, however, is on how this meaning is created. While both theories focus on meaning being derived from an individual's subjective experiences, interpretivism focuses on how meaning is generated by the individual consciously interpreting situations or social interactions (Gelderblom, 2010). Social constructionism has the same focus, however it emphasises the use of language and cultural context as the way in which the individual interprets and applies meaning to these experiences (Bastalich, 2019).

For the purpose of this study, social constructionism was applied to understand how the participants' ontological perspectives had developed through social interactions,

while interpretivism was used to explore the way in which subjective meaning had been attached to their views of the world. Throughout this study, social constructionism was applied to understand how the participants' knowledge had developed through social interactions, while interpretivism was used to explore the way in which subjective meaning had been attached to this knowledge. Therefore, in this study knowledge is viewed as personal, subjective and unique.

1.7 Research participants

This study focused on bicultural adolescents who were theoretically in Erikson's developmental period of Identity versus Role Confusion at the time of the research. Adolescence refers to period of development between 12 and 18 years of age (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). To collect data that were more valid and reliable, four research participants between the ages of 15 and 16 years were selected. This age group was selected because these participants were approximately halfway through this developmental period. Younger participants might not yet be aware of or have experienced the identity challenges hypothesised, while older participants already might have resolved these challenges or be moving into their next developmental stage.

In order to participate in the study, research participants needed to be growing up in a bicultural household. This meant that they were being raised in a family where one of their parents belonged to one specific culture, while the other parent belonged to another. The chosen participants needed to have spent a significant amount of time being exposed to each parent's culture in order for valid data to be collected; e.g., if an individual had been raised solely by his or her mother and had had very little exposure to his or her father and his culture, he or she would not be eligible to participate in the study. As this study would focus on the unique South African context, research participants needed to have been born and raised in South Africa.

Therefore, in order for valid data collection to take place, each of the four research participants had to be:

- between 15 and 16 years of age;
- born and raised in South Africa;

- raised in a bicultural family setting, where one parent belonged to one cultural group and the other parent belonged to another cultural group; and
- should have had adequate exposure to the cultural beliefs and practices of each parent.

1.8 Selecting a site

As the required research participants were adolescents of school attending age, the most accessible site for this research to be conducted would be at a high school. Although South Africa is a culturally diverse nation and there may be a large number of bicultural learners attending many different high schools, an international school might offer a more diverse study population. Therefore, the research was conducted at the school where I am employed as school counsellor. It is a large international school in Cape Town that is known for its diversity of cultures, languages, and demographic groups. The learners attending the school come from widely diverse backgrounds, with many of them being raised in bi- and multicultural contexts. The school makes a point of embracing the South African context in which it is based, while celebrating the diverse cultures of all learners enrolled.

1.9 Sampling process

Qualitative sampling can be defined as *“the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives”* (Gentles et al., 2015, pg 1775).). This study made use of purposive sampling to ensure that participants met the criteria required as mentioned in 1.7. A sample of four learners were selected from a culturally diverse international school in Cape Town. The Grade 10 and 11 learners of the school and their parents were informed of the intended study and requested to contact me if they wished to participate. I planned to purposively select up to five volunteers who met the participation criteria and invite them to take part in the study. Four volunteers met the participation criteria and were invited to participate in the study.

The participants and their parents were informed of what would be required of the volunteers during the research process, as well as the confidential nature of information that they would provide. The parents were required to provide consent for their children to participate in the study by signing an information sheet (Addendum C).

The adolescent participants were also required to sign an assent form (Addendum D). The sampling process of this study is discussed further in Chapter 3.

1.10 Data collection

To be credible, qualitative research should employ data-collection methods that are well defined and accepted within the particular area of research (Sarma, 2015). Babbie & Mouton (2001) emphasise the importance of using multiple sources of data, which involves using more than one method of data collection. Data for this study were collected by means of questionnaires, individual interviews, photo elicitation, and field notes.

1.10.1 Questionnaire and interviews

Babbie & Mouton (2001) define a qualitative interview as an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general inquiry plan but does not have a set of specific questions that must be asked in a particular order or where particular wording must be followed. For this reason, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Two interviews were conducted with each participant. The purpose of the first interview was to build rapport and to provide information about what they would be required to do before the next interview. Each participant was provided with a questionnaire to take home after his or her first interview. Owing to the qualitative nature of this study, a questionnaire consisting of open ended questions was included with the aim of collecting more meaningful data from the participants. The questionnaire created the opportunity for responses to be recorded more subjectively, without any form of influence from myself as the researcher. The questionnaire would be used as a guide to the kind of questions that they might be asked at the second interview and would grant the adolescent participants the personal time they might require to consider which information they wished to share and to collect any additional details from their parents or other family members.

These shared reflections with family members were not intended to influence the participants' responses in any way. Rather, these interactions were recommended as they may have been beneficial in the provision of more accurate responses in certain sections of the questionnaire (see Addendum E). For example, in question 6 of the questionnaire, the participants were required to write a list consisting of certain personality characteristics and values that they and each of their parents may possess.

In this case, the participants could have chosen to ask their parents to describe some of their own personality characteristics and values, as well as values of each of their cultures; the participants may have also asked their parents if they agree with the list, in cases where the participant completed the list alone. This would assist the participant to create a more detailed and accurate list, rather than providing false information by guessing in cases where they were unsure of what to write. Another example would be question 9 of the questionnaire, where the participants were required to ask some family members from each culture to describe them. Each participant would have needed time to decide which family members know them well enough to provide an informative description. They may have also wished to ask their parents' view regarding which family members would be most suitable to provide such a description.

The questionnaire was also administered as a form of data collection that would be analysed in the same way as the other data collection methods. The set of questions were the same in each questionnaire, however the structure of open-ended questions provided less structure and more freedom for the participants to record their answers in a personal manner, without being restricted to ticking predetermined boxes as is the case in other types of questionnaire. This also created an interesting way in which experiences of the participants could be compared in order to identify any shared or contrasting responses, which in turn assisted with identifying themes and categories in the data analysis process. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The second semi-structured interview took place approximately two weeks after the first interview, when the list of predetermined questions were asked (Addendum F), allowing some freedom for additional questions to be asked according to the participants' responses in order to further explore the meaning behind the responses. Each interview was voice-recorded digitally with the informed consent of the participants. Later, the responses of the participants were transcribed verbatim.

1.10.2 Photo elicitation

Photo elicitation is a qualitative research method that has been used extensively in the social sciences (Hatten, Forin, & Adams, 2013). One way that photo elicitation has been used is by asking participants to bring their own photos and video footage from home. According to Hatten et al. (2013), photos allow participants to feel more

comfortable, which enables them to speak about more personally about intimate topics.

At the first interview, the concept of photo elicitation was explained to the participants, and they were given the opportunity to clarify any uncertainties. The participants were requested to take photos and videos of themselves interacting with their families, including interactions with both cultural groups to which they belonged and to bring these along to the second interview.

Observation of the photos and video footage took place during the second interview. Hatten et al. (2013) contend that the use of photo elicitation influences what people are able to say about a concept. The use of images is a way to access unconscious memories, and participants can use the photos to explain their thoughts, feelings, and experiences. The photo elicitation aimed to enhance the interview and increase the value and meaning of the responses provided by the participant.

The observations of the photos and videos, along with the descriptions provided by the participants, were recorded in the form of digital voice recording with the informed consent of the participant, along with a formal observation schedule (Addendum G) and field notes.

1.10.3 Field notes

According to Wilkson & Birmingham (2003), field notes are an expanded account of all kinds of information obtained by a researcher during an interview session. These authors recommend first completing the interviews before editing and recording the data according to themes. There is no specific way that field notes need to be recorded, as the choice of the researcher will guide how the notes are organised. As the responses of the participants would be voice-recorded digitally, I made use of field notes to record any responses that were of particular significance. This took place during both interviews as well as the observation session of the photo elicitation.

1.11 Data interpretation and analysis

Qualitative data analysis usually involves an interpretive process of examining meaningful and symbolic content of data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Qualitative data are analysed by being sorted in categories and identifying patterns within the categories (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In this study, the raw data were analysed by means

of a process of thematic analysis and coding. They were then analysed through the lens of interpretivism, social constructionism and narrative analysis.

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning, referred to as themes, in qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2016). The themes were organised by means of coding, a process in which a researcher takes steps to identify and arrange the themes into relevant categories (Benaquisto, 2012). After the data had been voice-recorded digitally during both interviews, the responses of the participants were transcribed. These transcriptions, along with the field notes, questionnaires, and photo elicitation schedules, were coded according to the above-mentioned process.

A narrative approach was used to interpret the stories provided by the participants during data collection, as well as to assist exploring the possible meanings attached to the identified themes and categories. Narratives, or stories that people tell about themselves, provide insight into the cultural rules through which people interact with their world; it is a useful way to organise the cultural meanings that they use to interpret their experiences (Bruner, 1991).

1.12 Chapter outline of the study

A description of the way in which the chapters of this study are structured is presented below.

1.12.1 Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

The nature of the study and its purpose is discussed. The research questions are presented, and the research problem described. The rationale, theoretical framework, research design and methodology, data-collection methods, and data interpretation and analysis are introduced in this chapter.

1.12.2 Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

A discussion of the theoretical framework of Erikson, Marcia, and the transactional model is provided and integrated with the literature. Relevant studies from various countries are reviewed and linked to the research questions and objectives. The reviewed studies cover the concepts of bicultural and multicultural individuals, identity formation, and development, aspects of the identity and the period of adolescence.

1.12.3 Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

This chapter addresses the process of the investigation. The research design, sampling process, and data collection methods used are discussed. The approach to data analysis and interpretation is presented, as well as a discussion of how validity and reliability would be ensured in the study. Ethical considerations are also included in this chapter.

1.12.4 Chapter 4: Findings and interpretation

This chapter concerns the methods and procedures implemented to analyse and interpret the data. The findings of the study are presented in this chapter and discussed in relation to the research questions, literature review, and theoretical framework. The findings are also linked to the South African context.

1.12.5 Chapter 5: Recommendations, limitations, reflections and conclusion

The findings of the study are summarised in this chapter. Based on the findings and existing literature, recommendations for parents, teachers and child development professionals are made. Limitations of the study and implications for further research are also included in this chapter.

1.13 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of the study as a whole. The aim and objectives of the study were presented along with the research questions. The theoretical framework underpinning the study was discussed, as well as the data collection and analysis methods. In the next chapter, existing literature on bicultural identity development is reviewed, and the theoretical framework is discussed in more detail.

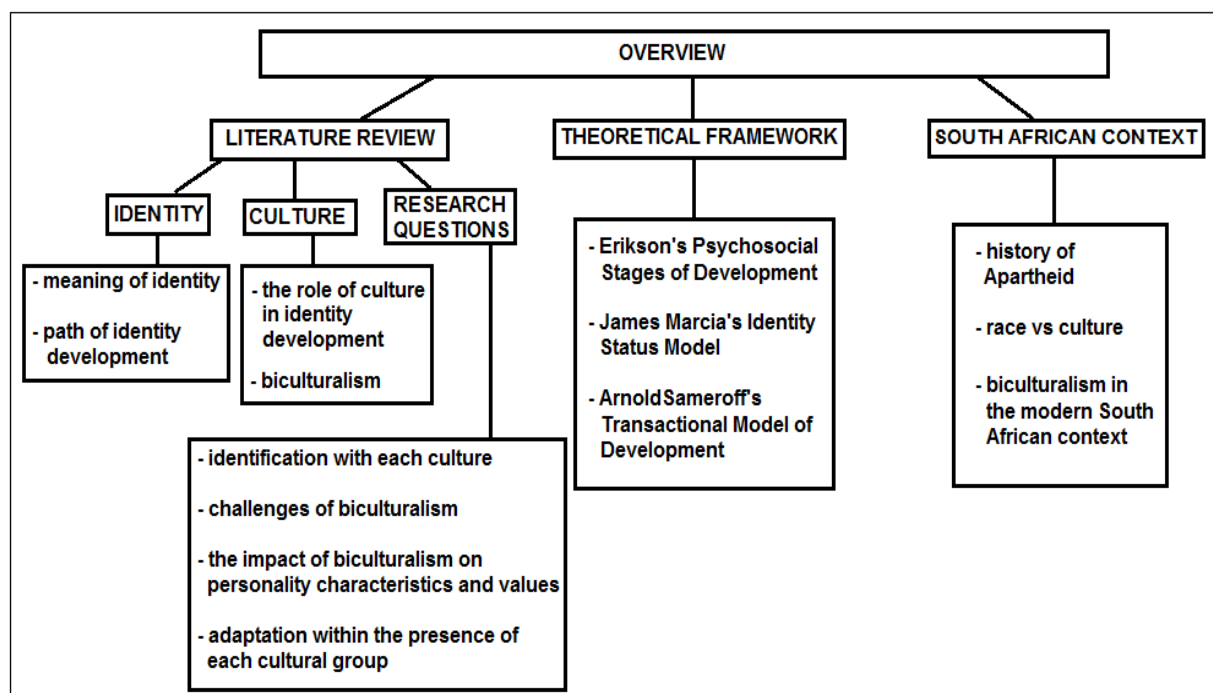
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature relevant to this study. I begin this section by discussing the meaning of identity and exploring the path of identity development from birth to adolescence. This is followed by a discussion regarding the role of culture in the context of identity development, as well as the meaning of biculturalism. Literature correlating with the research sub-questions is then reviewed, followed by a discussion of the relevance of this study in the unique South African context, a country with a rich diversity of cultural heritage and history.

Figure 2.1. Overview of the literature review and theoretical framework.



2.2 Defining Identity

Identity can be regarded as the meaning that an individual attaches to him- or herself (De Witt, 2009). Horowitz (2012) defines the term *identity* as a continuity, or sameness over time, in the way in which an individual perceives him- or herself, as well as how the individual is perceived by others. Respectively, these two perceptions can be defined as self-identity and social identity.

Self-identity, or the self, refers to a person's continuous interpretation and organisation of his or her life experiences (De Witt, 2009). These life experiences consist of interactions between the individual, other individuals and the environment. There are many different perspectives through which an individual may view him- or herself, which can be influenced by his or her physical characteristics, psychological attributes, and social attributes. For example, an individual may view him- or herself as belonging to a particular ethnic group or gender, as having particular strengths or weaknesses, or as having certain personality characteristics or values. When the individual knows that he or she has certain attributes and sees them as part of who he or she is, this can play a role in directing the choices he or she makes (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). An individualistic perspective focuses on the differences between the self and others, while a collectivistic perspective considers the similarities and connections that one has through relationships with others (Oyserman et al., 2012).

Social identity theory seeks to explain how social attitudes and perceptions are shaped by the way in which an individual perceives his or her membership of a particular social group (Greene, 2004). Social identity refers to the way in which an individual view themselves, based on their knowledge of their membership within a group and the personal meaning attached to that membership Tajfel (1978). It seeks to understand how the individual perceives his or her identity in relation to their experience of other group members' perceptions of him or her. Therefore, the social interactions between group members and the meaning that the individual attaches to his or her group membership are likely to play an important role in personal identity formation.

2.3 The Path of Identity Development

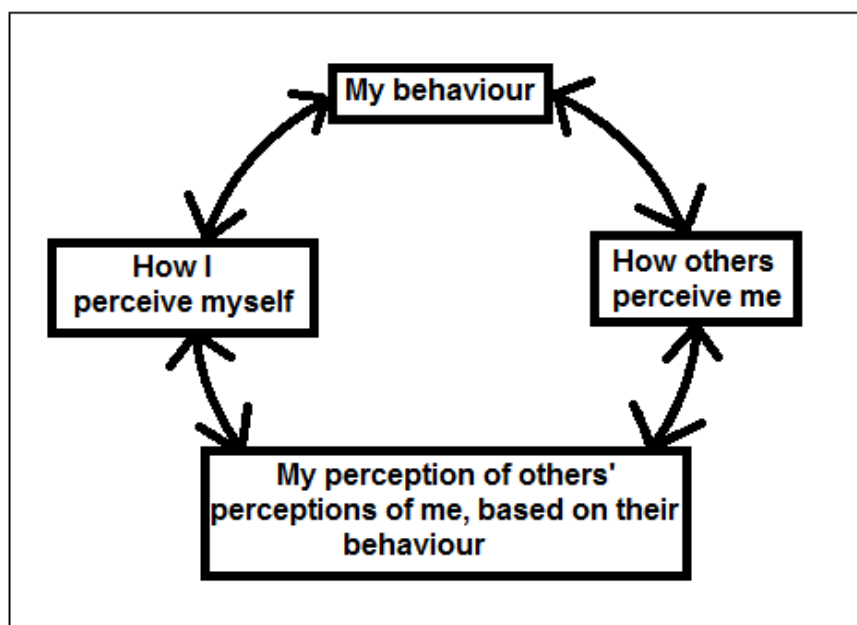
The development of identity helps the individual to value him- or herself as a person meaningfully (De Witt, 2009). Identity can be influenced by the past (what used to be true about the individual), the present (what is currently true to the individual) and the future (what the individual thinks he or she may become or feels obligated to become due to cultural expectations) (Oyserman et al., 2012).

At birth, an infant is completely egocentric and has no understanding of itself in relation to others. Interactions with caregivers over a period are required for a separate concept of the self to start developing (Gordon & Browne, 2004). Owens (1987) defines the 'self' as that part of the person of which he is consciously aware. Over the first year of

life, infants develop self-awareness through the discovery of their own bodies and by using their bodies to interact with their environment and other individuals. The quality of social interactions between infants and their caregivers plays an important role in early perceptions of the social environment. Research suggests that the quality of attachment between parent and child and the way in which warmth is shown have a significant effect on the child's psychological adjustment later life (Cassidy & Shaver, 2008). Children who develop secure attachments with their caregivers are also more likely to develop emotional competence and feel more secure to venture into the world and explore their environments (Carr, 2016).

The strongest influences on the way in which the young child views himself stems from interactions with family, social groups and the child's cultural milieu (Jelic, 2014). This could indicate that reactions from parents and other individuals to the child's behaviour play an important role in shaping the child's perception of themselves. Therefore, social interactions and the meaning that the child attaches to these are important in the formation of the young child's self-identity and social identity. This process is demonstrated in Figure 2.2 below:

Figure 2.2. The development of the young child's self-concept



The special relationships that the young child shares with those in his or her living space play a determining role in the acquisition of his or her own identity. The meaning

that a child attaches to the interactions with his or her parents or primary caregivers plays a particularly important role, as this can affect how all future relationships are experienced (De Witt, 2009). The way in which parents perceive and react to a child's behaviour will depend on what their expectations of their child are. Some examples of these expectations could be the type of social skills the child is expected to display or the specific values that the parents expect their child to uphold. The attitude of parents toward the child and the way in which they apply discipline are important elements in the formation of a child's self-perception (Hurlock, 1980). Parents who have a positive attitude in their parenting more likely may view discipline as an opportunity for their child to learn from their mistakes, while parents with a more negative attitude may become frustrated with a child who does not meet their expectations and apply discipline by means of punishment, which in turn could lead the child to have a negative view of him- or herself. Although various factors may affect the expectations that parents have for their children, the focus of my research was to determine the role of cultural expectations, more specifically when a child is raised in a family where one parent has a certain set of cultural expectations, while the other parent has another.

By the time the child reaches adolescence, he or she likely would have experienced many interactions with his or her parents, other family members, and members of society, such as teachers, friends, or community members. These social interactions play an important role in the process of identity development. Research done by Habermas & Bluck (2000) has shown that an integrated life story develops for the first time in adolescence, as the individual develops the cognitive abilities necessary to integrate autobiographical memories for the first time during this life stage. Previous experiences with significant others are examined and integrated in order to form a view of the self and the world. A more detailed discussion of identity development in adolescence will be provided through the theoretical lens of Erikson's (1980) psychosocial stages of development and Marcia's (Marcia, 1980) identity status model in sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

2.4 The Role of Culture in Identity Development

Reber & Reber (2001, p. 170) define culture as "the system of information that codes the manner in which the people in an organised group, society or nation interact with their social and physical environment". The authors further elaborate that the term refers to sets of rules and methods of interactions between group members that are

learnt by each individual, not genetically transferred. This indicates that, although a child may be born to a set of parents and inherits certain genetic traits from them, cultural beliefs and expectations are not innate. These have to be taught to the child through interactions with other members of the cultural group.

While developing his theoretical framework of psychosocial life stages, Erikson (1974) acknowledged the role of significant others and culture in identity formation. The culture in which one is raised plays a significant role in the development of an individual's worldview. An individual's worldview forms the basis of their values, beliefs, norms, and assumptions about him- or herself, others and the environment. Therefore, the sets of norms that an individual is expected to adhere to in his or her culture can shape the way in which he or she views him- or herself, as well as his or her perceptions of how others view him or her.

2.5 Biculturalism

The world in which modern adolescents grow up is far more multicultural than that of previous generations (Jensen, 2003). Globalisation and increased intercultural marriages around the world have resulted in many individuals being raised within two cultures. When an individual experience a sense of belonging to two cultural groups, this is referred to as biculturalism (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

An individual can identify as bicultural due to various circumstances. In some cases, when moving to a new country, migrants go through a process known as acculturation; they experience changes in their own culture due to having to adjust to the mainstream culture of their new country (Sam, 2000). After extensive exposure to the new culture, the individual may begin to integrate these and experience a sense of belonging to both groups. Other cases of identifying as bicultural may include individuals growing up in a country where the mainstream culture is different from their own, being adopted into a family belonging to a different cultural group, or having any other form of extended exposure to two different cultures. This study explored the experiences of individuals who identified as being bicultural due to being raised in a household where one parent identified with one cultural group, while the other parent identified with another. These individuals would have been born into the two cultures and have had lifelong exposure to both. This differs from individuals who have been raised in one culture and then have to adjust to a new culture at a later stage of life. The literature

reviewed consists mainly of studies based on the acculturation process of adolescents, as there currently appears to be a gap in research dedicated to those who have identified as bicultural from birth. However, regardless of how adolescents have come to identify themselves as bicultural, they will still be tasked with the developmental process of identity formation and cultural integration.

The process of bicultural identity formation can be a complex task. Throughout their lives, bicultural individuals are exposed to and internalise two different, sometimes opposing, sets of cultural norms. Each culture has its own values, beliefs, norms and expectations of an individual in a specific context. The process of identity formation for bicultural individuals includes the synthesis of two sets of cultural norms, resulting in one behavioural repertoire (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007). While the process of integrating two cultural identities into one can be a challenge for many bicultural individuals, there are individual differences in how these challenges are perceived and navigated, depending on the context of the individual (Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2013).

Individuals raised in two cultures construct their bicultural identity in the context of any relevant life events that contain personal meaning (Lilgental et al., 2018). Interactions between the individual and others in their social worlds lead to a variety of experiences that shape the way individuals view themselves, other individuals, and the world around them, i.e. their worldview. The individual constructs and understands the content and meaning of these experiences subjectively. Lilgental et al. (2018) found that in cases where memories regarding experiences of being bicultural consisted of positive outcomes, higher levels of bicultural identity integration were predicted. It was found that not only the memories of experiences are important, but also how individuals interpret and give meaning to these memories in their present lives.

Huynh, Benet-Martinez & Nguyen (2018, p. 1581) describe the concept *bicultural identity integration* as the “individual difference construct that captures variations in the experience of biculturalism”. In other words, it refers to the different ways in which each unique individual experiences living their lives as a bicultural person. While some individuals perceive their two cultural identities as compatible, others may experience a sense of conflict in terms of their sense of belonging within each culture (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Bicultural individuals with a higher level of identity

integration perceive their different cultural identities as blended, or in harmony with each other. Research conducted by Huff, Lee & Hong (2017) shows that these individuals are likely to be more tolerant of those perceived as different to them, as they tend to see these different characteristics in a more positive light.

2.6 Identity formation and development

In this section, attention is given to the earlier theories of identity formation in adolescence and how more recent studies conducted in various countries have elaborated on these theories. This study is underpinned by Erikson's (1980) stages of psychosocial development, as well as the identity status theory of Marcia (1980), who aimed to refine and extend on Erikson's work. Sameroff's (Sameroff, 2003) transactional model of development and its application to identity development will also be discussed.

2.6.1 Erikson's stages of psychosocial development

Although Erikson's research was done many decades ago, his work has had a vast effect on modern understanding of human psychological development. Erikson's theory divides human development into different periods in which individuals experience particular developmental crises, which they must overcome successfully to proceed to the next stage of development. If the particular stage is not overcome successfully, individuals experience a crisis and may have trouble adjusting to their next stage of life.

According to Meyer & Viljoen (2008), the solution for each developmental crisis is to find a healthy balance between the two possibilities, which in turn will produce what Erikson described as an ego strength. Ego strengths refer to the positive traits that an individual can develop through the successful solution of a developmental crisis. These strengths can help to prepare individuals for a successful transition into their next stage of development.

The stages from birth until early adulthood, as described in Meyer & Viljoen (2008, pp 200-204) are presented in Table 2.1. The remaining stages are not discussed as they are not applicable to this study.

Table 2.1. Erik Erikson's stages of psychosocial development

Psychosocial stage	Ego strength	Description
Trust vs. Mistrust (The first year of life)	Hope	Infants develop a sense of trust when caregivers respond to their needs. A balance between these possibilities is reached when the individual has faith that their needs will be provided for, while maintaining a sense of mistrust for the purpose of caution. This develops the ego strength of hope.
Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt (The second year of life)	Will-power	At this stage, children wish to experiment with their newly discovered autonomy. Failure in attempts to do things independently can result in shame and doubt of one's abilities. The ego strength of will-power is developed when the child learns how to make decisions for themselves, while exercising self-control.
Initiative vs. Guilt (Ages 3 – 6)	Purpose	Children at this stage begin to approach tasks and interactions with initiative, however their discovery of moral rules can cause them to feel guilty if their initiative is perceived in a negative manner by others. This may cause children to judge themselves in a strict manner. Purpose is developed when children find a balance between the enthusiasm behind taking initiative and possible self-judgement.
Industry vs. Inferiority (Ages 6 – 12)	Competence	By this stage, children may be attending school and will be tasked with learning new skills, such as reading and writing. Difficulties with the development of these skills may result in feelings of inferiority. A healthy balance is reached when children develop a sense of competence in their abilities.

Identity vs. Role Confusion (Ages 12 – 18)	Reliability	At this stage, the child is now an adolescent and is slowly transitioning into a young adult. The onset of puberty and changing social expectations, such as making future career choices, causes the individual to start questioning who they are, how others see them and how they can apply the skills and roles acquired in previous development stages to their future career and role as an adult. Reliability is achieved when the individual develops certainty about who they are and are aware of other identity options that were available to them. It is also characterised by the development of loyalty to their social roles.
Intimacy vs. Isolation (Ages 18 – 25)	Love	If the individual successfully overcomes the developmental crisis of Identity vs. Role Confusion, they will be able to share their identity with another person. Failure to develop a strong sense of identity in the previous stage may cause the individual to feel isolated and become preoccupied with themselves. In order to develop the ego strength of love in this stage, the individual needs to develop the capacity to develop and continue lasting relationships, even though they may require selflessness in the form of personal sacrifices and compromises.

It is clear from the descriptions provided in Table 2.1 that the development of a strong sense of identity during the Identity vs. Role Confusion stage is essential for the individual to successfully find a balance between the possibilities that exist in their future developmental stages.

Erikson (1974) describes the Identity vs. Role confusion stage as a “stormy” segment of youth in which adolescents struggle with the various changes of the transitional period between childhood and adulthood. In this stage, all experiences and ego

strengths developed in previous stages culminate in the search for identity. The adolescent may feel a need to re-examine all the skills and abilities they have gained over the years, as well as the feedback they have received from interactions with others and their contextual environments. As the individual considers these factors, they begin to identify which experiences from previous stages that they wish to incorporate as parts of their steadily stabilising sense of identity.

There are many changes that take place during this developmental stage. In addition to experiencing the physical changes of puberty, adolescents also face the uncertainty of the adult roles that lie before them. Erikson found that many adolescents become preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others, rather than what they believe they really are. They face the question of how to connect all the skills and roles developed in earlier stages with the expectations that they foresee in their future adult years. As discussed above, some adolescents may need to revisit previous crises that were experienced in earlier stages, in order to establish a new sense of continuity and sameness that makes up their personal identities. Therefore, the successful development of the ego strengths of hope, will-power, purpose and competence are all important developmental tasks that need to take place before the individual is ready to begin the journey of discovering who they are.

The process of exploring various aspects of the self often leads to experimentation with different roles and identity features. For example, adolescents may wish to change their hair colour, experiment with different styles of clothing, or engage in activities that they have not tried before. As discussed in section 2.3, it should be kept in mind that the reactions of parents and significant others to the individual's behaviour play an important role in shaping how individuals view themselves and others, which in turn affects their identity formation. As Erikson (1974) contends that adolescents preoccupy themselves with how they are viewed by others, it can be argued that the positive or negative reactions of parents and significant others to the adolescent's various experimental behaviours are likely to have an effect on which aspects individuals choose to integrate with their identity formation process. When the individual is raised with two sets of cultural norms, the parents and other family members may have contradicting reactions to the various behaviours of the adolescent. Therefore, this may make the confusing stage of identity formation even more challenging.

Erikson (1974) acknowledges the role of culture in the identity formation of adolescents. He believes that identity formation is a process rooted in the core of the individual's culture and that the elements chosen to be integrated with the identity will be based on which skills fit into the adult world of that particular culture (Kelland, 2017). As they have a strong need for self-discovery and finding out where they fit in, adolescents are open to physical, spiritual and social experiences that they wish to explore before they fit themselves into their culture and fit their culture to themselves (Evans, 1964).

2.6.2 Extending Erikson's theory: The work of James Marcia

Marcia's identity status model is one of the most important and widely studied extensions of Erikson's work (Meeus et al., 2010). Marcia (1980) established a four-status approach to study the phenomenon of identity. The four identity statuses are (1) identity achievement, (2) moratorium, (3) foreclosure, and (4) diffusion. The statuses are based on the level of exploration and commitment adolescents undertake during their identity formation period (Marcia, 1980).

Identity achievement occurs when the individual has finished a period of active exploration and has chosen to make a commitment based on this exploration (Meeus et al., 2010). According to Waterman (2007), identity achievement status is a predictor of positive social and psychological outcomes. It is also associated with positive emotional adjustment (Dumas, Lawford, Tieu, & Pratt, 2009) and intimate relationship satisfaction later in life (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010).

Identity moratorium refers to a state of active exploration where the adolescent has not yet made any significant commitments (Meeus et al., 2010). Kroger et al. (2010) found that adolescents might experience anxiety during moratorium, largely due to uncertainty regarding future life choices. However, this anxiety is temporary, as moratorium is a transitional period of reflection before reaching identity achievement.

During identity foreclosure, the adolescent has chosen to make a commitment without having done much prior exploration (Meeus et al., 2010). These individuals have adopted values and beliefs from parents and other significant authority figures without considering other alternatives (Marcia, 1980).

Identity diffusion refers to a situation where adolescents have not yet made a commitment to a specific developmental task, although they may or may not have explored different alternatives in that domain (Meeus et al., 2010). The domains of exploration may consist of choices regarding future career, religion, politics, friendships, gender roles, romantic relationships, etc. The relevance and importance of identity elements worth exploring in these domains are influenced by what is valued and accepted in the adolescent's cultural group (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). These identity elements could be anything in the domain with which individuals feel they identify, such as character traits in a friendship that they find appealing or that they believe are in line with their own cultural expectations or characteristics. Adams et al. (2005) found that identity diffusion tends to be associated with low self-esteem, delinquency, and substance abuse.

Meeus et al. (2010) found evidence for identity progression of these four statuses, suggesting that the identity matures throughout adolescence. The authors suggest that as individuals move through adolescence, the number of diffusions and moratoriums decrease, while the high-commitment statuses increase. This could be due to the increase in emotional maturity as individuals grow older, as well as the higher need for commitment when individuals approach adulthood and need to start making important life decisions.

2.6.3 Sameroff's transactional model of development

The transactional model of development refers to the idea of a relationship in which a child shapes his or her family, while the family shapes their child. This bidirectional approach to human development has existed for decades and has become common sense for developmental scientists (Sameroff, 2009). Children are influenced by the social interactions in their contexts, while the contexts are shaped by the interactions of the child with his or her significant caregivers. Sameroff (2009) describes transactions as being omnipresent: Everything that exists in the universe is in a reciprocal relationship whereby it affects others, or is affected by others.

Culture is an important factor contributing to parent-child interactions and the outcomes of these interactions. The transactional model views parenting as a culturally organised task. Parent-child interactions are structured with the aim of actualising socialisation goals, or social expectations, which are emphasised by their cultural value system

(Bornstein, 2009). Therefore, the way in which a parent reacts to a child's behaviour is likely to stem from his or her cultural norms. In the context of the transactional model, it is perceived that parents will shape their children by means of social interactions according to their own cultural values and beliefs, while parents and the way in which they approach these interactions will also be shaped by children and their reactions. For example, if a certain culture expects children to look down while being spoken to by an adult and the parent reacts by shouting at the child when he or she does not do so, the child could react by crying and becoming afraid in the presence of adults, which may prompt the parent to follow a softer approach that may be more encouraging to the child the next time.

2.7 The effect of biculturalism on identity development

Although various studies (discussed in 2.7.1 – 2.7.4) have been conducted to explore factors affecting identity development in bicultural individuals, no other studies of this nature with reference to the South African context have been found. In this section, literature from various other countries relating to the following four research sub-questions is reviewed:

1. Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?
2. What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?
3. How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of an individual's values, beliefs and personality characteristics in adolescence?
4. To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt themselves socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

2.7.1 Identification with each culture

Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?

According to a study conducted by Grosjean (2008), to be regarded as bicultural, an individual should identify with both cultures. However, in a more recent study undertaken by the same researcher, it was found that some bicultural individuals

identified with only one of their cultures, while others identified with neither (Grosjean, 2015). This study also found that it is rare for both cultures to have the same importance in the life of the individual. One culture often plays a larger role than the other does and becomes known as the dominant culture.

Benet-Martinez & Haritatos (2005) contend that there are variations in how a bicultural individual experiences a sense of belonging in each cultural group. These individuals have also been shown to vary in the degree to which they perceive their two cultural identities as integrated, ranging between compatible on the one hand and in conflict on the other.

Although it is unclear why bicultural individuals differ in their levels of identity integration, it has been shown that the way in which they perceive this integration predicts a variety of psychological processes and behavioural outcomes (Cheng & Lee, 2013). Cheng & Lee (2013) found that the level of perceived identity integration could be changed momentarily by recalling memories of past bicultural experiences. Recalling positive experiences increased the level of integration, while recalling negative experiences caused the level to decrease. Recalling experiences not linked to bicultural memories was found to cause no changes in the level of perceived identity integration. Based on these findings, one can hypothesise that positive and negative experiences with family members from each cultural group could play a role in an adolescent's inclination to identify more with a particular culture.

As discussed in section 2.3, the special relationships that the young child shares with those in his living space play a determining role in the acquisition of his or her own identity. Parents in particular play an important role in their children's identity formation and integration, as their reactions to their child's behaviour mould the way in which the child views him- or herself and the world. Research suggests that parenting and social experiences in a family setting can enhance or hinder the individual's ability to deal effectively with the developmental challenges of adolescence (Zimmermann & Becker-Stoll, 2002).

Sandhu et al. (2012) found that there is a positive correlation between parental attitudes and psychological well-being in adolescent identity development. Parents who displayed more acceptance of their children's natural ways of being and less avoidance of these ways were significantly related to higher levels of joviality and

happiness in adolescents, particularly teenage girls. In particular, it was found that maternal acceptance was positively related to identity achievement in adolescents. When parents are overly controlling, girls tend to commit themselves prematurely to various life choices, as they do not have the freedom to engage in sufficient exploration (Sandhu et al., 2012). Therefore, the attitude with which parents from each cultural group approach their adolescent child could have an effect on the choice of the adolescent to identify more with a particular culture. The level of acceptance that they experience from each parent and the amount of freedom they are given to explore various aspects of their identities before making a commitment will likely vary, depending on the norms and expectations associated with each culture.

Not only parents and siblings but also friends play a role and are an important influence in the adolescent's identity integration. Adolescents spend more time with same-age peers and increasingly value their friends' opinions and expectations (Brown & Larson, 2009). In the context of Marcia's identity status model, friendships provide an important context in which exploration and commitment can take place, which are essential aspects of identity formation (Marcia, 1980). Therefore, it is possible that the values and norms of peers from various cultural groups will also play a role in an adolescent's inclination to identify more with a particular culture.

2.7.2 Challenges of identity formation for bicultural adolescents

What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?

Regardless of the culture with which one identifies, adolescence can be a challenging period in general. The physical, psychological, and social aspects (discussed in section 2.2.) through which individuals view themselves are affected by factors such as puberty, new expectations from adults, and changing social roles. With the increase of autonomy that this stage brings, parents and other significant adults such as teachers are likely to increase their expectations of adolescents' abilities and behaviour. Therefore, adolescents face the challenge of becoming familiar with these new expectations, while trying to make sense of the changes involving how they view themselves. This process is likely to become even more demanding when the new expectations stem from two different sets of cultural norms.

Whether based on migration, globalisation, or birth, managing two cultural identities can be a complex task. Elements from each culture can be widely divergent and conflicting at times, making the task of integrating these elements rather challenging (Chen et al., 2012). For example, one culture may encourage the individual to be independent and make decisions without assistance from others, while the norms of the other culture may expect the individual to solve problems within a group setting. These conflicting expectations can be especially confusing for children and adolescents who are still dependent on the guidance of significant adults in their lives.

There are variations in how bicultural individuals navigate the challenge of integrating two cultural identities. While some individuals are fortunate enough to experience a sense of harmony and integration within themselves, others experience feelings of conflict and distance between their two cultural identities (Benet-Martinez & Nguyen, 2013). Hussain (2018) describes the concept *bicultural efficacy*, which refers to the belief that people have in confidently navigating between their cultures of origin and the mainstream culture. A high level of bicultural efficacy was found to contribute to the positive development of bicultural people. However, this study was based on acculturation, where an individual is becoming accustomed to new a culture due to migrating to a place where the dominant culture differs from his or her own. For individuals born into a family with two parents who belong to different cultures, this task likely would involve navigating between the cultures of each side of the family, which may be a challenge when the individual is living in the same house as his or her parents or family members from both cultural groups.

According to Mok & Morris (2012), bicultural individuals' perception of the extent to which the two cultural identities are integrated has consequences for their behaviour. When spending time in the presence of one of their cultures, individuals who experience a low level of identity integration are more likely to resist consensus with the norms of the group. Presumably, this occurs due to their other cultural identity feeling left out of the context.

Through the theoretical lens of Marcia's (1980) identity status model, the challenges of exploring various identity aspects and having the courage to make commitments should be considered. Marcia (1980) contends that adolescents experience cycles of reconsideration and commitment, whereby previously made commitments are

evaluated, possibly leading to a search for new commitments. Considering Erikson's (1974) theory, commitment can be viewed as identity formation, while reconsideration takes the form of role confusion. Klimstra et al. (2010) describe commitment-formation cycles, where identity commitments are made by younger adolescents after a broad period of exploration and decreased reconsideration, as well as commitment-evaluation cycles, where older adolescents evaluate their commitments and return to the commitment-formation cycle. Various experiences could lead to an adolescent fluctuating between commitment and reconsideration; however, Klimstra et al. (2010) suggest that inconsistently doubting one's commitments will eventually weaken the individual's sense of identity. Constant fluctuations between these identity dimensions have been found to predict an increase in symptoms of internalising problems, such as depression, withdrawal, anxiety, or loneliness (Schwartz et al., 2011). Therefore, it can be hypothesised that it is more likely that bicultural adolescents could experience more fluctuations between commitment and reconsideration, as conflicting norms and expectations of two cultures could lead to doubt of commitments made previously.

The findings of Meeus et al. (2010) suggest that the identity matures throughout adolescence, with individuals becoming more able to commit to explored identity aspects as they move through this stage. This finding is supported by Lilgental et al. (2018), who suggest that bicultural identity conflict decreases with age across adulthood. Although the results of these studies provide hope for adolescents struggling with identity conflict, the process of reaching that point is undeniably a challenging journey.

2.7.3 The development of values, beliefs and personality characteristics within two cultures

How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values, beliefs and personality characteristics during adolescence?

In section 2.7.2, it was noted that there are individual differences in how bicultural individuals integrate their two cultural identities. Huynh et al. (2018) suggest that personality is one of the variables that may predict these differences. Personality is a rather broad term, as it refers to the all the characteristics possessed by an individual that could influence his or her behaviour, either physically, psychologically or spiritually (Grieve, Van Deventer & Mojapelo-Batka, 2006). A personality characteristic, however,

refers to a specific trait of an individual's personality, such as friendliness, ambition or determination. Personality traits capture the way in which individual characters differ (Klimstra, 2013) and play a role in how individuals choose to interact with their social world.

Most social scientists acknowledge that both nature and nurture play an important role in the process of personality development (Cherry, 2019). Although personality traits are suggested to be innate, they are also shaped by the interactions between individual people and their environments.

Another factor to consider is the role of epigenetics. According to Weaver (2020):

“...epigenetics in psychology provides a framework for understanding how the expression of genes is influenced by experiences and the environment to produce individual differences in behaviour, cognition, personality and mental health.”

Weaver (2020) also refers to epigenetics as the way in which “nature shapes nurture”. It has been found that genes can be modified through various experiences and factors, such as family and community interactions, values, attitudes, knowledge and behaviours (Notterman & Mitchell, 2015). Weaver (2020) suggests that the early life experiences of an individual can have an intense and enduring influence on aspects of their development throughout the lifespan.

The combined findings of these studies appear to suggest that an individual is born with certain genes that they have inherited from each of their parents. Some of these genes may increase or decrease the likelihood of certain personality characteristics developing in the individual, depending on the type of environment in which the individual experiences their social interactions as they grow and develop. This supports the findings of McAdams & Pals (2006), who suggest that personality traits predispose individuals to behave and think in a certain way. Even though the individual may have inherited a certain characteristic, the environment(s) in which they find themselves may determine if the gene is activated or not. This can also work in reverse, whereby certain environments and experiences can cause changes to the genes with which the individual was born through epigenetic factors. These altered genes could be passed on to future generations, possibly predisposing those individuals for different characteristics than those of their ancestors. This proposes that personality

characteristics could be either innate traits, learned behaviours or a combination of both.

Different cultural groups may also identify more with certain customs. For example, in some cultures such as Austrian, French and Italian, it is considered a welcoming greeting when individuals kiss each other on the cheeks. In other cultures, this may be seen as intrusive or disrespectful. If an individual displays preferences for physical affection, they may feel comfortable to greet by kissing others on the cheek, while someone who does not display these preferences may not feel comfortable with being greeted in this manner, even if it is a norm within their culture. It could therefore be hypothesised that most individuals may feel more comfortable in environments and relationships where their natural personality preferences and the behaviours that accompany those, are accepted.

It is clear from the discussion thus far that personality characteristics developed by an individual are not culturally bound; rather they appear to be instilled by chance factors related to a combination of genetics, epigenetics and environment.

As mentioned in section 2.4, Reber & Reber (2001) explain the term 'culture' as sets of rules and methods of interactions between group members that are learnt by each individual, not genetically transferred. Therefore, children have to learn the culturally related norms, values, beliefs and behavioural expectations through social interactions and feedback within their cultural group. Considering the biological, environmental and experiential factors that contribute to personality development, I hoped that the findings of this study would assist in determining how learning cultural norms and being expected to behave accordingly, could possibly impact the development of an individual's personality characteristics, particularly bicultural individuals.

Another factor contributing to elevated bicultural identity integration is that of value fulfilment, which refers to the extent to which people believe they can obtain their personal values (Oppenheim-Weller & Kurman, 2017). Individuals who experience a subjective sense of value fulfilment in one cultural identity often feel more motivated to integrate this identity with other cultural identities (Oppenheim-Weller & Kurman, 2017).

Cultural groups vary in the extent to which they allow value fulfilment, as well as the type of fulfilment that can take place (Roccas, Schwartz, & Amit, 2010). Depending on

the norms of each culture, each group will provide a social setting in which certain values can be fulfilled, while others will be hindered. Bicultural individuals are more likely to integrate their cultural identities if they perceive the social setting as one that reflects their values (Oppenheim-Weller & Kurman, 2017).

For adolescents who are exploring different domains of identity, values are an important deciding factor before a commitment is made. When exploring domains such as future career options, gender roles, family, and friendships, or even political views, the importance attached to choices in each domain will depend on what is accepted and valued in the adolescent's culture (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). When the adolescent is raised with two cultures, decisions regarding which values to take on as one's own could be a challenge.

2.7.4 Adaptability of bicultural individuals with each cultural group

To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

Part of what this study aimed to explore is to what extent adolescents are able to, or feel the need to, adapt themselves and their behaviour when in the presence of each parent's cultural group. Each group may have different values and expectations; therefore, their views on how one should behave in a social situation may differ. Parents of different cultures may have different ideas of how children should be raised.

Social identity and self-categorisation theories assume that individuals can act both as individual persons as well as members of social groups and that the way in which they categorise themselves both personally and socially can provide a valid representation of the self in various social contexts (Turner, Oaks, Haslam, & McGarty, 1992).

It has been found that adolescents with a low level of identity integration are resistant to conforming to cultural cues (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). Cultural cues could be any form of communication associated with a specific cultural group, such as body language, tone of voice, or type of dialect in the spoken language. This means that adolescents who view their two cultural identities as less integrated and more conflicting are less likely to make use of these forms of communication in their own behaviour. This resistance is likely to take place due to one of the cultural identities feeling left out in the social context of the other cultural identity (Mok & Morris, 2012).

Huynh et al. (2018) suggest that the feelings associated with being bicultural (cultural harmony versus conflict) are independent from the ways in which the individual perceives and organises the two cultures. This means that it is possible for individuals to perceive their two cultures as conflicting, while they are still able to blend them into everyday life. Individuals who experience that their cultures are in harmony could also be able to keep them separate in everyday life, much in the same way that they would separate their home and professional lives.

2.8 Biculturalism in the South African Context

Sameroff and Mackenzie (2003) contend that the development of any process in an individual is influenced by interplay between the individual and his or her context. Of the relevant literature reviewed in this chapter, none of the studies was done in the unique context of the South African population.

When visiting any city in South Africa, it is common to be surrounded by a sea of diversity. One may hear multiple languages being spoken, see people dressed in many types of traditional clothing or even come across cultural groups that do not exist anywhere else in the world. From my experience of being raised in South Africa, people are usually well aware of cultural or religious differences and do not question these as a part of their daily lives. For example, as a child, I always knew that my isiXhosa friend would one day have to change her name when she got married; my Islam friend left school early on a Friday to go to the mosque; many of my peers spoke different languages than I did at home; and some friends were allowed to wear only certain types of clothing to school events, while other friends were not allowed to eat certain foods at birthday parties for religious or cultural reasons. The non-discrimination policy of the Constitution of South Africa provides the opportunity for people from all backgrounds to live a life in which their beliefs and values can be fulfilled.

However, life in South Africa was not always this inclusive. With a dark political past, South Africa is also known for its history of segregation. Before Apartheid ended in 1994, there were strict limitations on how members of different racial groups were allowed to interact. Although the concepts of race and culture sometimes overlap, they do not carry the same meaning. According to DePalatis (2018), an individual's race refers to race as being biologically determined and identified externally, by observation of the individual's physical appearance. The author defines culture as the non-

biological, social aspects of life that are expressed or learnt. Although certain cultural groups are associated stereotypically with specific race groups, many individuals of different races can belong to the same cultural group.

Many aspects of different racial and cultural groups were disempowered during the Apartheid years. For example, the ruling National Party implemented a Language in Education Policy that promoted the use of only English and Afrikaans in South African schools (Alexander, 2010). Language is an important aspect of one's identity; it is the means by which one makes sense of oneself and the world (Holloway, Kane, Roos, & Titlestand, 2004). Although the adolescents of today are too young to have experienced this phenomenon, it is possible that many of their parents will have experienced parts of their identities being denied to them.

During the Apartheid era, there were strict laws in place regarding interracial marriages. In July of 1949, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (Act no 55 of 1949) was passed, a law that prohibited white people and people of other racial groups to be married or engage in sexual relations (Beningfield, 2006). This changed in 1985, when the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act was introduced to make allowance for interracial marriages, although these were still frowned upon by society at the time. Owing to the connection between race and culture, it is likely that there were very few bicultural families in South Africa in the years before 1994.

With the chains of Apartheid no longer violating our rights to freedom of choice, the people of South Africa are now free to marry within any race or culture of their choice. Statistics show that mixed marriages in South Africa have increased from a ratio of 301:1 in 1996 to 95:1 in 2011 (Amoateng & Heaton, 2015). This increases the likelihood that there is an increase in children being raised in bicultural households in South Africa. Because these types of households were previously illegal, or severely frowned upon, it is likely that the adolescents of today are among the first generations in South Africa to experience their period of identity formation biculturally.

According to Lilgental (2018), individuals raised with more than culture construct their bicultural identities in the context of relevant life events; however, the individual constructs and understands the content and meaning of these experiences subjectively. This study sought to understand the subjective meaning that each participant attached to his or her own experience of being raised in a previously

bicultural household and how this affects the universal stage of adolescent identity formation in the unique, diverse South African context.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter involved a review of the literature that informs this study. The topics of identity development, adolescence, and the role of culture and biculturalism in identity formation were discussed. Special attention was given to literature relevant to the research questions, namely the question of with which culture a bicultural individual is likely to identify more, the types of challenges involved in bicultural identity formation, how personality characteristics and values may be affected by biculturalism, and to what extent bicultural adolescents adapt their behaviour in the presence of each cultural group. The theoretical framework of Erikson's psychosocial stages of development, Marcia's identity status model and Sameroff's transactional model of development were discussed and integrated throughout the chapter. Finally, biculturalism and the relevance of this study in the unique South African context were discussed. The following chapter will discuss the research design and methodology.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the research design and methodology that were used in the research process. The focus will be on the type of research design applied, the research paradigm, data-collection procedures, the research participants, the establishment of validity and reliability, as well as ethical considerations.

3.2 Research design and methodology

A research design is a logical strategy for gathering evidence about knowledge desired (De Vos, 2005). It refers to all aspects that form part of planning and carrying out the research process, from the identification of the problem right through to reporting the results (Punch, 2005). According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006), research methodology consists of ways in which one collects and analyses data. It aims to demonstrate which methods the researcher applies when collecting information related to the research questions, as well as how this information is interpreted.

In this study, a qualitative approach was used to explore the data collected at a deeper and more meaningful level. The data were collected by means of interviews, photo elicitation, questionnaires and field notes.

3.2.1 Qualitative research approach

According to Silverman (2010), research methods need to be chosen based on the specific task. Qualitative research methods differ from quantitative methods, in that the qualitative researcher is more concerned with describing the types of characteristics of people and events, without comparing or evaluating the events in terms of measurements of amounts (Thomas, 2003). The qualitative approach aims to answer the question of 'how' rather than the question of 'how many' (Silverman, 2010).

The main task involved in this study was to explore how adolescents had experienced being raised in a bicultural household in the culturally diverse South African context, as well as how the subjective meanings attached to those experiences had affected the development of their own identities. As this was an explorative study, it was

considered important that the chosen research methods would create a way to collect subjective, meaningful data. Therefore, a qualitative approach was selected as the most suitable approach.

3.3 Research paradigm

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2005), a paradigm refers to what an individual believes and feels about the world, which will guide their approach to understanding and studying the world. Paradigms are important because they provide the theoretical lens through which the data will be studied and interpreted. As the emphasis in qualitative research is on interpretation (Wolhuter, 2015), this study was approached through the lens of interpretivism.

The assumption underlying interpretivism is that people construct their own subjective meaning as they interact with the world in which they live (Packer, 2011). The focus of this paradigm is not only to determine whether facts exist, but also on how information, events, circumstances and characteristics are perceived and interpreted personally by the individual. The interpretive researcher seeks to uncover the meaning that research participants attach to their social worlds to understand the interactions between their social and cultural landscapes (Tshabangu, 2015).

By making use of interpretivism, I endeavoured to reveal some of the factors that may have affected the identity development of bicultural adolescents by uncovering the meaning that they attached to social experiences with family members of each cultural group, particularly their parents. De Witt (2009) describes the vital role that parents play in their children's identity formation. Usually, parents are the first meaningful social connections that a child experiences; they fulfil not only a caregiving role, but also the role of disciplining and guiding children in all areas of their lives. Interactions between parent and child determine how the child begins to view him- or herself and others. Many of these interactions are likely to involve reactions to the child's behaviour and correcting behaviour that is deemed inappropriate. Different cultural groups may perceive certain general behaviours as appropriate in a particular context, while other acts may be regarded as improper in the same context. For example, in some cultures it may be acceptable for children to leave the dinner table when they have finished eating, while other cultural groups may expect children to wait until everyone has finished before they may get up. Therefore, parents belonging to different cultural

groups are likely to have different expectations of their child's behaviour and may react differently when disciplining their child for the same action, or educating their child on what is expected of him or her. Through the lens of interpretivism, this study sought to explore the meaning attached to interactions between the individual and each of their parents belonging to different cultural groups, in order to understand the role that being raised within these two cultures had played in their personal identity development.

3.3.1 Epistemological assumptions

Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge and is concerned with the question, "What is knowledge?" (Moyo et al., 2015). My view of knowledge is based on the principles of social constructionism, where knowledge is viewed as socially constructed by people and therefore subject to change. Each individual constructs his or her knowledge about the world through his or her social experiences. I believe that, in the same way that these experiences shape the knowledge of an individual, his or her reactions to these experiences also influence his or her social world. This belief links to Sameroff's (2009) transactional model of development, which emphasises a bidirectional approach to human development. This model views everything that exists in the universe as being in a reciprocal relationship, where it affects others or is affected by others (Sameroff, 2009).

Therefore, in the context of this study, it can be assumed that the identity development of bicultural adolescents is influenced by the reciprocal relationship of interactions between the individual and significant others belonging to each of their cultural groups. Through the lens of interpretivism and social constructionism, it can be assumed that the adolescent has subjectively constructed his or her knowledge of the world based on these social experiences.

3.3.2 Ontological assumptions

Ontology refers to the nature of reality (Merriam, 2009) and is concerned with the question of how an individual knows what is real (Mertens, Homes, & Harris, 2009). Interpretivism and social constructionism view reality as personally constructed by each individual (Myers, 2008). As an interpretive researcher, I lean more towards the belief that truth is achieved through constructing meanings subjectively, rather than through discovery (Tshabangu, 2015). Truth, when viewed in the light of my ontological position, is a relative, subjective experience. Individuals interact with others in their

social worlds and construct what they view as real and true based on the meanings they find in the interactions.

Therefore, informing this study were the ontological assumptions that the adolescent participants had constructed their views of reality personally based on the meanings attached to interactions with significant others in their social worlds.

3.4 Research methods

This section focuses on criteria for research participation, site selection, the sampling process, the research participants, and the data-collection methods.

The data-collection methods described in this section aimed to provide insight into how the culturally diverse South African context affects the identity formation process of bicultural adolescents. The methods also aimed to answer the following research sub-questions:

1. Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?
2. What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?
3. How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values, beliefs and personality characteristics in adolescence?
4. To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

3.4.1 Participant criteria

This study focused on adolescents who had been raised with two cultures, namely where their mother belonged to one culture while their father belonged to a different culture. For the purpose of collecting data that were more valid and reliable, research participants needed to be between the ages of 15 and 16 years of age because they were approximately halfway through the developmental period of adolescence, a stage that occurs between ages 12 and 18 years (Meyer & Viljoen, 2008). Younger participants who had just entered adolescence might not have enough experience in this stage of development to provide meaningful data, while older participants would

be nearing the stage of young adulthood and might no longer be experiencing the crisis of Identity versus Role Confusion, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Erikson, 1974).

Research participants were also required to be growing up in a bicultural household, in a family where one of their parents belonged to one cultural group while the other parent belonged to a different cultural group. The chosen participants would also need to have spent a significant amount of time being exposed to the cultural norms of each parent in order for valid data to be collected. In increase the likelihood of adequate exposure to each culture, only individuals whose parents were living together in the same house were chosen to participate in the study. As this study focused on the unique South African context, research participants needed to have been born and raised in South Africa.

Therefore, in order for valid data to be collected, research participants needed to meet the following criteria:

- They had to be between 15 and 16 years of age at the time of data collection.
- They must have been born and raised in South Africa.
- They must have been raised in a bicultural family, where each parent identified with a different cultural group
- They must have had adequate exposure to the cultural norms of each parent.

3.4.2 Site selection

As this research focused on adolescents of school going age, the most accessible site to conduct the study was a high school. South Africa is a country that is home to many different nationalities and cultural groups; therefore, the majority of high schools in South Africa would likely have been appropriate sites. However, I believed that the international school where I work as school counsellor would offer a study population that would be more diverse.

This is a multilingual school located just outside of central Cape Town where there are children from over 25 different nationalities and a wide range of backgrounds. Some of the learners attending the school are from foreign countries, others have been born in South Africa to foreign parents, while others are born and bred South Africans. As there are learners from such a wide variety of backgrounds attending the school, the school management team makes a point of embracing the unique South African

context within which it is based, while still respecting the cultures of the various learners enrolled.

All the necessary participants gave informed consent for the study to take place at the school, including the WCED (see Addendum B) and the school management team. Permission was also granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Humanities Department of Stellenbosch University (Addendum A).

3.4.3 Sampling process

As many definitions of sampling tend to focus more on quantitative research, Gentles et al. (2015) reviewed various individual publications in order to develop an inclusive definition of sampling specifically related to qualitative research. The authors define qualitative sampling as *“the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives”* (Gentles et al., 2015, pg 1775). Participants in qualitative studies should therefore be selected in order to fulfil a specific purpose in relation to the research question (Collingridge & Gantt, 2008). For this reason, purposive sampling was applied in this study. This form of sampling occurs when participants are chosen with the intention and purpose of the research in mind (Lumadi, 2015).

The main question that this study sought to explore is “How does growing up as a bicultural individual in South Africa affect the formation of one’s identity during adolescence?”. The purpose that the selected data sources needed to fulfil in regard to this question was to provide information in the form of experiences as a bicultural adolescent being raised in the South African context. Therefore, the individuals selected to participate in this study needed to currently be experiencing their identity formation process according to the criteria described in the research question.

A sample of four learners who met these criteria was selected from a culturally diverse international school in Cape Town. The Grade 10 and 11 learners of the school and their parents were informed of the intended study and requested to contact me if they wished to participate. I had planned to purposively select up to five participants who met the participation criteria, however, there were four volunteers who met the participation criteria and were selected to participate in the study.

3.4.4 Participants

The participants of this study were chosen through a process of purposive sampling at the research site, a large international school based in Cape Town. The learners and their parents were informed of the possibility of participating in the study and requested to contact me if they wished to participate. Four participants who met the full criteria for the study were then purposively selected.

The learners who participated in this study were all:

- aged between 15 and 16 years
- being raised in a bicultural household
- born and raised in South Africa
- females

Although it had not been my intention to select only female participants, there were unfortunately no male volunteers available who met the full criteria to participate in the study.

Table 2.2. Details of the research participants

Participant	Age	Grade	Gender	Mother's cultural group	Father's cultural group
Participant 1	16	11	Female	British / South African	Dutch / Afrikaans
Participant 2	16	11	Female	German	Scottish / South African
Participant 3	16	11	Female	isiXhosa	Malawian / Coloured
Participant 4	16	11	Female	Coloured	Irish

3.4.5 Timeline of data collection

The research process began with approval to conduct research being granted by the Research and Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University, as well as the Western Cape Education Department. Consent forms were then signed and returned by the parents of the participants, followed by the assent forms for the participants themselves. Data collection began in March 2018, and the final interviews took place in May 2018. The timeline is displayed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Timeline of the data-collection process

When	Description
December 2017	Approval to conduct research (REC Humanities – Stellenbosch University)
January 2018	Approval to conduct research (WCED)
February 2018	Consent/assent received from parents and participants
March 2018	First round of interviews with participants
April – May 2018	Second round of interviews with participants

3.4.6 Data-collection methods

In the following sections, the data-collection methods are discussed. The validity of data-collection methods can be strengthened when multiple sources of information, methods, and types of data are used (Di Fabio & Maree, 2013). This process, referred to as triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), allows in-depth exploration of the research problem (Golafshani, 2003). Multiple data-collection methods were applied in this study, consisting of individual semi-structured interviews, photo elicitation, questionnaires and field notes.

3.4.6.1 Interviews

Individual interviewing provides the researcher with the opportunity of getting to know the participants well and understanding their feelings (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 2004). Through the lens of both social constructionism and interpretivism, the aim of using interviews in this study was to collect information regarding how each participant had experienced the interactions with family members of each cultural group, to understand the meaning that they attached to those experiences and to explore how it might have affected their identity development.

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with each individual participant over a period of three months. A semi-structured interview usually consists of a defined set of questions, although a more conversational approach to questioning is taken (O'Leary, 2004). Keeping in mind that the research participants were adolescents who might not feel comfortable with sharing their personal context, the semi-structured approach aimed to make them feel more relaxed and open to sharing information with me.

According to Breakwell (2006), collecting data through interviews depends on the willingness of the research participants to provide authentic answers to what they are asked. The aim of conducting two separate interviews was to establish rapport with the adolescent participants during the first interview, to ensure that they felt comfortable enough to provide authentic responses by the time the second interview took place. At the first interview, the participants were given information about what to prepare for the second interview. This involved exploring what the terms *culture* and *identity* meant to each participant, explaining the photo elicitation process, requesting that photos or videos be brought along to the second interview, as well as handing out a questionnaire for each participant to complete at home with their parents. The participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions and clarify any uncertainties.

The second interviews took place approximately two weeks after each participant's first interview, so that they would have enough time to collect the information that they needed. The questions asked during the second interview were based on the questions included in the questionnaire, as this enabled the adolescent participants to feel more prepared for their answers and in turn increase validity and reliability of data.

The interview schedule can be viewed as Addendum F.

3.4.6.2 Questionnaires

Owing to the qualitative nature of this study, a questionnaire was included with the aim of collecting more subjective and meaningful data from the participants. The qualitative questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions that participants could answer according to their own personal reflections and experiences; it was developed in such a way that the participants could write down their unique answers to each question, in order for the data provided from this method to later be coded along with the interview transcripts, field notes and photo elicitation schedules.

Each participant was provided with a questionnaire to take home after her first interview. The questionnaire was also to be used as a guide to the kind of questions that they might be asked at the second interview, in order to grant the adolescent participants the personal time they might require to consider which information they wished to share and to collect any additional details from their parents. Details collected from parents would apply to certain questions only, as mentioned in section 1.10.1.

Through the lens of my ontological assumption that people view their reality through the meanings they subjectively attach to their experiences, my goal with the questionnaire was to provide a method by which the participants could record their subjective experiences related to the research questions in the privacy of their homes. By doing so, they would have more time to remember details of their experiences, as well as the meaning that they attached to those. Thus, receiving the completed questionnaires created an opportunity for me to view the reality of the participant as they experienced it, thereby collecting more meaningful and valid data. An important method of strengthening validity in qualitative research is to ensure that the interpretations of the data have mutual meaning between the participant and the researcher (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). I hoped to achieve this mutual understanding by allowing the participants the private time to consider their responses and by discussing the meaning attached to those responses with them at their second interview. This information was then coded according to the same process as the other data collection methods. The questionnaire can be viewed as Addendum E.

3.4.6.3 *Photo elicitation*

Part of this study sought to explore the meaning that bicultural adolescents attached to interactions with family members from each cultural group. Owing to the intrusive nature of observations, photo elicitation was selected as the preferable method to gather visual data of family experiences.

Photo elicitation is a qualitative research method that has been used extensively in the social sciences (Hatten et al., 2013). During the first interview, each participant was asked to bring along some photos and video clips of her interacting with family members from each cultural group for the second interview. It was explained to the participants that these photos or videos could be captured at any location and could be taken from any time point in their lives, provided that they contained imagery of the participant interacting with family members from each of the parents' cultural groups.

In order for a study to be reliable, the results need to be trustworthy. Discussing the photos and videos during the second interview provided an opportunity for the participants to link their experiences from the photo elicitation to their responses in the interview questions. The reliability of the study would be enhanced if connections could

be made between data collected from different methods, as this would make it more likely that the data were trustworthy.

According to Hatten et al. (2013), allowing participants to choose which photos and video clips they wished to share with the researcher would empower them to bring their own voice to the interview and allow youths to develop their own personal and social identities. The authors observe that photos allow participants to feel more comfortable, which enables them to speak about more personal or intimate topics. Many of questions asked in this study were of a personal nature, concerning aspects of family life, personal beliefs, and past history. The aim of this method was to allow the participants to feel more at ease with the researcher and the interview process, while providing meaningful data by linking the data from the photo elicitation to the interview questions.

A sample of the blank photo elicitation observation schedule can be viewed as Addendum G.

3.4.6.4 Field notes

According to Wilkson & Birmingham (2003), field notes are an expanded account of all kinds of information obtained by a researcher during an interview session. The authors recommend first completing the interviews before editing and recording the data according to themes. There is no specific way that field notes need to be recorded, as the choice of the researcher will guide how the notes are organised.

While the verbal responses of the participants were voice-recorded digitally, field notes were used to record any responses that particularly stood out or might require additional attention during the transcription process, as well as any observations made during the interview that appeared significant. The process of writing these notes took place during both interviews as well as the observation session of the photo elicitation.

3.5 Data analysis and interpretation

This section aims to provide a brief description of how the data collected during the study was analysed and interpreted. Samples of the data analysis process are provided in Chapter 4.

Although there are various methods that may be applied in qualitative data analysis, the methods chosen by the researcher need to be applicable to the type of data

collected, as well as the purpose for which the data will be used (Denscombe, 2013). The data from this study were collected with the aim of creating a deeper understanding of bicultural adolescents' identity formation process by exploring the meaning attached their social interactions and experiences within each of their cultural groups. The interview transcriptions, significant information recorded in the field notes, experiences shared during the photo elicitation process, as well as the answers provided from the questionnaires provided a variety of data sources from which the personal stories of the participants could be collected. These stories provided a framework through which their lived experiences could be better understood in the light of their subjective experiences of bicultural identity development.

A large portion of the collected data consists of childhood memories and current events described by the participants in the form of stories. Through the ontological lens of interpretivism, the data was collected with the intention of exploring the participants' subjective meanings attached to the experiences described within their stories. Therefore, a narrative approach was selected as the most appropriate method of data analysis.

The following explanation of narrative analysis is provided by Stephens & Breheny (2012, p. 14):

"For researchers and research participants alike, narrative is a pervasive structure with which we comprehend and convey the experiences and meanings of events, account for our own and others' behaviour and reveal ourselves to others in the way in which we would like to be seen. In doing so, we reveal something of the structure of our social world. For these reasons, the stories that people tell provide important information about their experience in relation to identity and social life."

A narrative approach is also useful for understanding the participants' experiences within their cultural context. Narratives provide insight into the cultural rules through which people interact with their world, and it is a useful way to organise the cultural meanings that they use to interpret their experiences (Bruner, 1991).

Although several researchers have suggested ways in which a narrative framework could inform data analysis, there is no recognised, standard method in which narrative analysis is applied (Elliot, 2008). Lieblich et al. (1998) suggest two dimensions that

could act as such a framework for a narrative approach. Firstly, researchers can choose to focus on the content or the form of the narratives during data interpretation. Content refers to the information that the narratives consist of, i.e. events that are described, the reason the events took place, etc. Form, on the other hand, focuses more on the structure of the narrative, i.e. the coherence or complexity of the story, the genre of the narrative, specific choice of words used, etc. Secondly, researchers can choose to apply a holistic analysis, whereby they attempt to maintain the complete story and understand it as a whole. The other option would be to employ categorical analysis, where specific parts of the text are selected and categorised according to various themes.

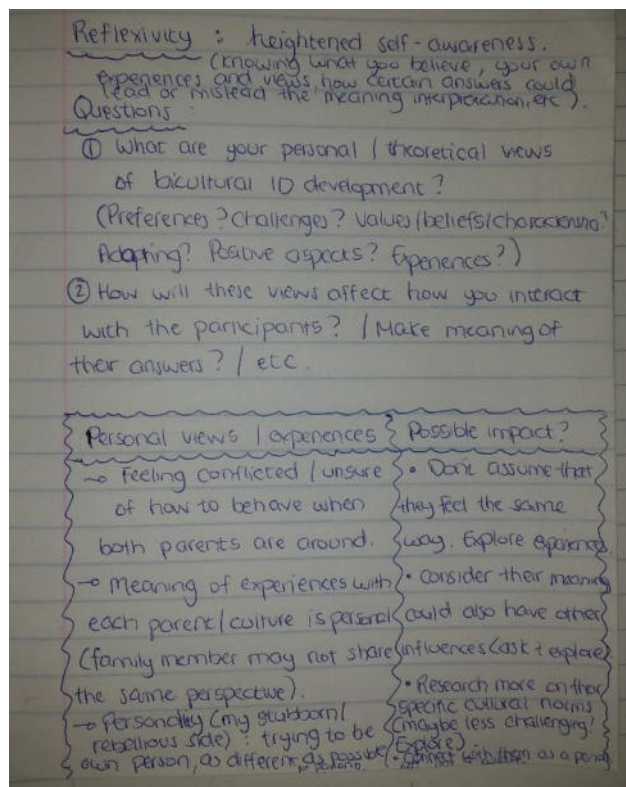
While considering which of these dimensions would be the most suitable for my data analysis, it was important for me to keep my subjective role as qualitative researcher in mind. The nature of qualitative research makes it possible for the personal values and perspectives of the researcher to influence the way in which they interpret and draw conclusions from the data (Dean et al., 2018). It is therefore sometimes the case that qualitative researchers form just as much part of the data as the research participants do (Al-Natour, 2011). As mentioned in section 1.2., researchers themselves are also narrators who are faced with the task of communicating their own story to their readers (Elliot, 2008). During data analysis, the personal narratives of the researcher will not only influence how they interpret the data; they will also play a role in the narratives that the researcher applies in the presentation of the research findings.

Elliot (2008) recommends that when making use of narrative analysis, qualitative researchers should engage in reflexivity, i.e. develop an increased awareness of the self as researcher. The purpose of this practice is not merely to provide readers with a subjective account of the research process, but rather to consider how the personal and theoretical perspectives of the researcher may impact on their relationship with the participants, their approach to data interpretation and the way in which their findings are presented.

Although I have always made use of regular journaling as a method of personal reflexivity, the concept of researcher reflexivity was new to me before I commenced with this study. As I have experienced journal writing as a successful method of self-reflection, I decided to make use of a research journal throughout the study as a tool

for understanding my role at each stage of the study and reflecting on how this may impact the outcome of each step in the research process. A sample of my research journal where I explored the concept of reflexivity can be viewed in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Sample of research journal reflections



Part of my reflexivity process during data analysis included reflective questions such as, “Which sections of the data come across as the most significant?” and “How can I sort and organise the data so that no important information is lost?”. As a researcher, I am also aware that I make sense of data more effectively when there is a set structure or procedural steps in place. Leedy (1997, p. 165), describes qualitative data analysis as a ‘lengthy’ and ‘messy’ process of cyclical phases; taking the time to make sense and meaning of such a large amount of information can be overwhelming for the researcher (Creswell, 1994). In order to manage this process more effectively, Tutty et al. (1996) recommend that a specific data analysis plan should be established by the researcher.

In order to create a structural plan and explore possible answers to my reflective questions, I referred to the work of McMillan & Schumacher (2006), who describe

qualitative data analysis as a process of organising data into categories and identifying patterns and themes within those categories. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), it is usually an interpretive process of examining meaningful and symbolic content of collected data. The categorical sorting process makes it easier for the researcher to assign meaning to the data (Merriam, 2009).

In order to proceed with this sorting process using a narrative approach, I referred back to the narrative framework suggestions of Liebllich et al (1998). Through the lens of the interpretive and social constructionist framework informing this study, I chose to make use of the 'content' dimension, as this would focus the interpretation on the events and experiences that may have been significant in shaping the participants' view of themselves and others. I also chose the 'holistic' analysis process, as this would enable me to sort the data into themes and categories, while considering the meaning of narratives within the context of the whole story. I also considered that the holistic approach could be more effective in preventing significant information from being overlooked or misinterpreted.

In order to sort the data into themes and categories, the processes of thematic analysis and coding were applied. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning, referred to as themes, in qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2016). Bryne (2001) compares the process of thematic analysis with sorting a box of buttons: One can determine a strategy to group the buttons according to various categories such as size, colour, or type. In this same way, the qualitative researcher needs to decide on a strategy to group the data according to themes.

Coding was used to organise the data into various categories. Coding in qualitative research refers to the process of generating ideas and concepts from raw data (Benaquisto, 2012). This process involves the researcher taking steps to identify and organise the themes and patterns found within the data, as well as to generate understanding of the meaning attached by the participants.

In order to approach these thematic and categorical sorting procedures in a more structural manner, I implemented the following three steps, as suggested by Stuckney (2018):

1. Read through the data and create a storyline.

2. Categorise the data into codes.
3. Use memos for clarification and interpretation.

A detailed discussion of the data interpretation process organised according to the abovementioned data analysis methods and frameworks, along with samples of how these processes were applied, will be provided in section 4.2.

3.6 Quality criteria

Researchers should not assume that readers will accept the quality and legitimacy of their research findings based purely on trust or naivety (Denscombe, 2013). Validity and reliability are essential aspects of sound research; researchers need to ensure that steps are taken throughout the research process to strengthen the trustworthiness of conclusions drawn from the study.

In a qualitative study, the concepts of 'validity' and 'reliability' are described using different terminology, as this approach generally makes use of less control and structure than a quantitative approach (McKay, 2006). Validity in qualitative research can be divided into two categories, namely internal validity, referred to as credibility, and external validity, referred to as transferability (De Vos, 2005). Reliability in qualitative research is termed as dependability (McKay, 2006). The meaning and application of these concepts throughout the study are discussed in more detail below.

3.6.1 Credibility

The goal of ensuring credibility in a qualitative study is to demonstrate that the research process was conducted accurately (De Vos, 2005). According to Mills, Durepos, & Wiebe (2010), credibility determines the extent to which a research account is believable and appropriate. In order for research to be functional and for the truthfulness behind it to be believed, all aspects of the study need to be realistic (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Shenton (2004) provides some strategic suggestions of how credibility can be strengthened in qualitative research projects. These points were jointly considered and applied as thoroughly as possible throughout my research process:

a) Making use of well-established research methods

Well-established research methods are techniques and/or approaches that have been recognised, accepted and employed by the research community for a reasonable period of time. In order to implement such methods, the researcher should select data collection and analysis techniques that have historically proven to be successful in other similar research projects (Shenton, 2004).

The data collection techniques of this study included a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, observation in the form of photo elicitation and field notes. Questionnaires, interviews and observation are recognised as some the main methods employed in social research (Denscombe, 2013).

Questionnaires can be used across a broad range of research situations (Denscombe, 2013). This creates an unobtrusive method whereby participants can answer questions in the privacy of their own home and at their own pace. This method was chosen for this study to allow the participants enough time to consider their answers carefully and discuss information with their parents and other family members in order to provide more accurate data during the second interview.

Interviews are known for being a useful method for collecting comprehensive and detailed data (Denscombe, 2013). Interviews with less structure provide the participants with more control over the interview process (Corbin & Morse, 2003). Although the personal interaction that takes place during an interview could cause some emotional distress for the participant, Corbin & Morse (2003) found that that this distress is no greater risk than that which is experienced in daily life. The authors also found that when an interviewer follows a code of ethics and conducts research with sensitivity, the interviewee may experience less distress and the research becomes a beneficial process for both participant and researcher. In order to ensure that the participants experienced as little distress as possible, the following steps were taken:

- The main interview was preceded by an introduction interview in which I took some time to build rapport with each participant
- The participants were given questionnaires relating to the questions that would be asked at the second interview. These questionnaires were completed in the privacy of their own homes where the participants were likely to feel more

comfortable, as well as to ensure that they could consider their responses without any time pressure.

- The introduction interview and questionnaires also aimed to assist the participants in feeling more prepared for the second interview, as they would have already had exposure to the topics that would be discussed.
- The ethical principles described in section 3.8 were also applied throughout the research process, to reduce the possibility of emotional distress for the participants.

The data of this study was analysed through various theoretical lenses, including Erikson's psychosocial stages of development, first developed in 1950, Marcia's identity status model, which extended on Erikson's work in 1966, as well as Sameroff's transactional model of development, first introduced in 1975. These theories were all originally developed over four decades ago and have been in continuous development ever since.

Narrative analysis is also viewed as a well-established method of data analysis, as the interest in this method being applied in the social sciences dates back to the early 1980s and quickly became a commonly used method of data analysis throughout the 1990s (Elliot, 2008). Squire et al. (2008, p1) describe narrative research as "popular and engaging" and claim that "it often seems as if all social researchers are doing narrative research in one way or another".

b) Developing an early familiarity with the culture of participating parties before starting data collection

Shenton (2004) emphasises the recommendations of Lincoln & Guba (1985) and Erlandson et al. (1993), who suggest 'prolonged engagement' between the researcher and participants in order to develop a relationship of trust, as well as for the researcher to gain more insight and understanding of the participant as a person. As the semi-structured interview process employed in data collection of this study was divided into two separate sessions, the first session served as an introduction to develop rapport and a relationship of trust with the participant. Both interviews took place at the same venue, in order to provide the comfort of a familiar environment. The discussion that took place during the introduction interviews allowed me to gain further insight into the

cultures of each participant, which provided a clearer picture of their subjective experiences during data analysis.

c) Making use of triangulation

In order to strengthen credibility within a study, it is important that the researcher understands the research topic and process as thoroughly as possible. Researchers are able to gain a better understanding of what they are investigating if they view their research process from different perspectives (Denscombe, 2013). This would involve making use of triangulation; triangulation takes place when multiple sources of information, methods and type of data are used (Di Fabio & Maree, 2013).

Data from this study were collected from four different participants from different backgrounds. Although these participants all attend the same school, they were asked to not inform any other learners of their involvement in the study, in order to reduce the risk of influencing each other's individual views and approaches during data collection. Although the participants are all in the same grade at school, class lists and subject timetables provided by the school receptionist confirmed that they are in different classes and rarely come into contact with each other during individually selected subject lessons where the classes are mixed. This also reduced the likelihood of them discussing the first interview and questionnaire with each other, which aided in ensuring that responses in the second interview would be subjective and serve as uninfluenced, individual sources of information.

Triangulation was also implemented in this study by making use of different data collection methods. The questionnaire provided data in the form of a subjective written account of bicultural experiences, while the interviews provided verbal accounts as well as an opportunity for me to discuss some of the questionnaire responses with the participants and observe their behaviour while discussing their experiences. The photo elicitation provided visual information of meaningful interactions between the participants and their family members, which were also discussed during the second interview to confirm the subjective meaning attached to the interaction by each participant. The field notes served as my own subjective account of my experience and observations of each participant, in order to consider how my own worldviews and experiences may influence the way in which data was analysed.

d) Employing tactics to ensure honesty from participants

It is not always possible for researchers to determine if participants are being truthful in their data contributions. Therefore, researchers need to carefully consider the factors that may influence participant honesty during their study, in order to take the necessary preventative measures.

Song and Parker (1995) mention the possibility that the interviewee may make assumptions about the cultural identity of the interviewer. This could cause the interviewee to adapt the content of his or her responses to be more in line with what they assume the interviewer will identify with. My own bicultural background was explained to each participant during the rapport building process in the first interview. The participants were also informed that there are no right or wrong answers and they are free to express their experiences without any judgement or fear of confidentiality breach.

I also considered the possibility of some responses being untrue due to the adolescent participants being unsure of how certain bicultural experiences may have affected their identities at this stage of their development. In order to decrease the likelihood of this occurrence, the participants were allowed to complete their questionnaires at home, which gave them an opportunity to spend time reflecting on their experiences, instead of responding impulsively. It was also due to this reason that participants were required to be 15 – 16 years of age; by this stage, they would have already experienced approximately 3 – 4 years of Erikson's identity development crisis, increasing the likelihood that they would have had adequate time to gain some awareness of their bicultural influences.

In order to ensure honest responses, Shenton (2004) also recommends making sure that the participants are taking part in the study of their own free will, as they are more likely to be honest if they have chosen to provide the information required. The consent and assent forms (see Addenda D & E) signed by each participant and their parents, explained that participation in the study is completely voluntary and that participants may withdraw from the study at any time without consequence. These forms also informed the participants that they do not have to answer any questions that they are

not comfortable with and that all information shared, as well as their identifying details, would remain confidential.

The use of photo elicitation as the observation method for this study was also a way of ensuring participant honesty; the physical presence of a researcher in personal settings, such as the homes of the participants, may feel intrusive and/or have a negative effect on the researcher-participant relationship. My physical presence may have also led to the Hawthorne effect, where the participants may have changed their usual behaviour due to their awareness of being observed (Louw & Louw, 2011). Therefore the use of photo elicitation was selected as a more appropriate way of collecting honest, credible data.

3.6.2 Transferability

In qualitative research, transferability refers to the extent to which the results can be generalised to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), or applied to other situations (Merriam, 1998). Shenton (2004) highlights that it can be extremely difficult to determine transferability in qualitative research projects, as the results of such studies are only applicable to a small number of specific individuals and environments. The stories shared by each participant in this study were all unique and specific to the contexts in which their lived experiences took place. Gomm et al (2000) emphasise that researchers should approach transferability with caution, as the attempt to generalise subjective, contextual experiences to other situations may have a negative effect on the study, i.e. by disregarding the significance of the personal meaning attached to each individual experience.

DiFabio & Maree (2013) recommend that researchers could try to establish transferability of results by ensuring that all features of the research process are properly described. These features include aspects such as the theoretical models applied during the research process, the data-collection methods, data analysis process and limitations of the study. One could possibly use these descriptions to make an informed decision of whether or not the results could be generalised to other specific contexts. For this reason, descriptions of each feature of this research process have been provided throughout the chapters of this thesis.

Although care was taken to implement the recommendations of DiFabio & Maree (2013), the findings of this study cannot be generalised to the whole population due to

the subjective nature of data collected from each participant. Even where there are similarities in feelings and perceptions shared, the experiences themselves are unique to each individual participant in their particular context.

3.6.3 Dependability

Goetz & LeCompte (1984) define dependability as the stability and consistency of the research process over time. When we consider how dependable the results of a study are, we consider to what extent these results can be trusted or are reliable (McKay, 2006).

To achieve dependability in a study, each step of the process needs to be scrutinised to ensure consistency in the whole research process (Okeke & Van Wyk, 2015). It is important that the steps taken with the respective participants are the same, to ensure reliability of data to be collected and interpreted.

During the data-collection process, each of the participants went through the same process, consisting of the following steps:

- Receive information sheet (consent and assent forms) for participant and parents.
- Have the opportunity to ask and clarify any questions with the researcher before the research process commenced.
- Attend the first interview and receive the same explanations of the terms *identity* and *culture*.
- Complete the same questionnaire at home.
- Attend the second interview and be asked the same questions in a semi-structured, conversational manner.

Careful attention was paid to the accurate collection, recording, transcription, and interpretation of the data throughout the process of this study. The recording device was tested and fully charged before each interview session; the device was also placed within close proximity of both myself and the participant, in order for both of our responses to be clearly heard in the recording. Each recording was played at least three times during the interview transcription process; the first time I listened to the interview while making notes, in order to create a general interpretation of how the

interview went and if there were any significant narratives that may have been missed in my field notes. The interview was transcribed during the second listening period, while the third listening period was used to read through the transcription while listening, to ensure that the interview had been transcribed correctly.

3.7 Ethical considerations

According to the Helsinki Declaration of 1972, it is essential that clearance be obtained from an ethics committee when human beings are participating in any form of research. For this study to commence, the first step was to obtain approval from the relevant ethics committees of my university, as well as the Education Department, even though the site is a private international school. Permission to conduct research was granted by the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities at Stellenbosch University, as well as the Director of Research Services at the Western Cape Education Department. The school at which the research took place provided permission for the study to be conducted on the premises outside of school hours.

Several ethical principles need to be adhered to in any research process, particularly when minor participants are involved.

3.7.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is based on the ethical principle of autonomy. Allan (2016, p.120) defines autonomy as “competent people’s right to freely and voluntarily make informed decisions pertaining to their lives”. As the participants were minors under the age of 18 years, both informed consent of their parents and assent of the minor participants were required before the study could commence. The research participants were given an information sheet at school to take home to their parents to discuss their possible participation in the study. My contact details were listed on this information sheet and the parents were asked to contact me if there were any uncertainties regarding their child’s participation in the research. Each participant returned a signed informed consent form (see Addendum C) from their parents, as well as a signed assent form (see Addendum D) from themselves. The form contained all the information regarding the study, including the research process, risks involved, confidential nature of data handling, and the voluntary nature of participation.

Based on the autonomy principle, the participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without consequence, should they so wish. They also did not have to disclose any information that they did not wish to disclose.

3.7.2 Confidentiality

Salie (2013) observes that the identities of research participants should remain anonymous. All information provided during data collection should be treated confidentially to respect the participants' right to privacy.

No identifying information was documented on any of the data collection tools. The participants were identified by numbers, from Participant 1 to Participant 4. The data collection instruments, as well as the voice recordings of the interviews, were stored in a locked facility only accessible by me throughout the research process. The photos and videos provided in the photo elicitation process were not kept, but sent home with the participants after the interviews.

3.7.3 Non-maleficence

The non-maleficence principle requires researchers to prevent foreseeable harm to participants (Allan, 2016). The only potential risk of harm that was identified in this study was the possibility of emotional discomfort during the interview process. The questions would lead to discussions regarding personal family information that might have been of a sensitive nature. The participants were informed before the study commenced and reminded throughout the research process that their participation was voluntary and they did not have to answer any questions or share any information that they did not wish to.

To prevent this risk of emotional harm, rapport was established with the participants beforehand at both interviews, and care was taken to help them feel at ease. The participants and their parents were also informed that a counsellor and a counselling psychologist would be available at the school to provide assistance should any emotional discomfort occur. The participants were also given the option to contact their parents in the case of emotional discomfort, should they so wish.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on a detailed discussion of the research design and methodology. This qualitative study aimed to explore the identity development of

adolescents who had experienced being raised in a bicultural household in the unique South African context. The research paradigm of interpretivism, research methods, research participants, and quality criteria were also discussed. The next chapter focuses on the findings and interpretation of the study.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the findings of the study and includes a discussion of how these are interpreted. This qualitative study aimed to answer the following question: How does being raised in a bicultural household in South Africa affect the formation of one's identity in adolescence?

This main research question was broken down into the following sub-questions:

1. Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?
2. What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?
3. How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values, beliefs and personality characteristics in adolescence?
4. To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

The process of data analysis is presented first, which includes thematic analysis and coding through the lens of interpretivism and narrative analysis (see sections 3.5 and 3.6). The theoretical framework of Erikson, Marcia and Sameroff will also be revisited.

4.2 Process of data analysis

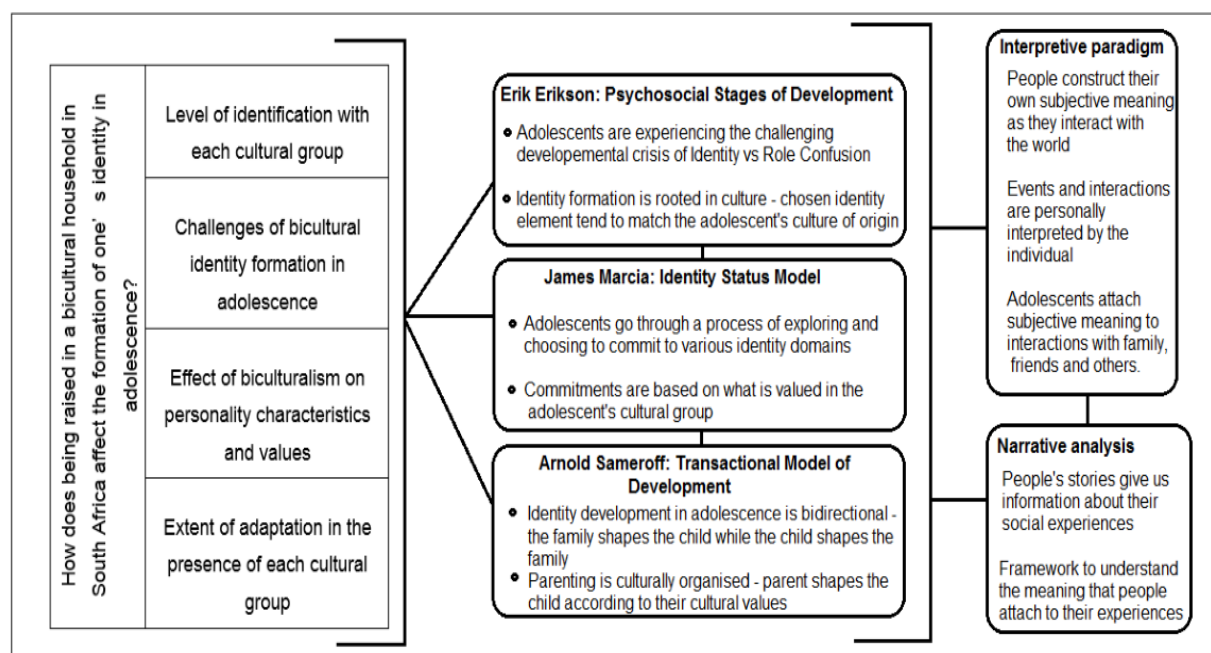
This section focuses on the steps that were taken in the process of data analysis. The theoretical framework and paradigm through which the data were analysed will be presented first, followed by a description of the themes and categories identified in the thematic analysis and coding process, as well as the steps that were taken to implement these processes.

4.2.1 Application of theoretical framework within data analysis

The data were analysed through the lens of the interpretive paradigm, based on the assumption that people construct their own subjective meanings as they interact with the world in which they live (Packer, 2011). The narrative approach was applied to

make meaning of the stories presented by the participants during the data-collection process. These interactions were explored through the lens of Erikson's (1974) psychosocial stages of development and Marcia's (1980) identity status model, providing a framework for understanding identity development and the period of adolescence. Sameroff's (2009) transactional model of development was also applied to make sense of the way in which the adolescents' interactions with significant others might have shaped their identity development in their cultural contexts. This theoretical application of data analysis in the context of the research questions is displayed in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Theoretical application in the data-analysis process



4.2.2 Thematic analysis and coding steps

The data were analysed through a process of thematic analysis, making use of coding (see section 3.5). The following steps were implemented to facilitate the coding process, as suggested by Stuckney (2018):

1. Read through the data and create a storyline:

The interviews with the participants were voice recorded and later transcribed. In order to ensure validity during this stage of data analysis, it was important that all data derived from each data collection method were included (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Therefore, the interview transcriptions, field notes, photo elicitation sheets and completed questionnaires of each individual participant were all carefully read through and examined in detail. During this examination process, possible narratives and any other significant information related to the four research sub-questions were underlined. These underlined data were used to create an individual storyline for each participant. Samples of this process can be viewed in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2. Sample of interview transcript during data analysis

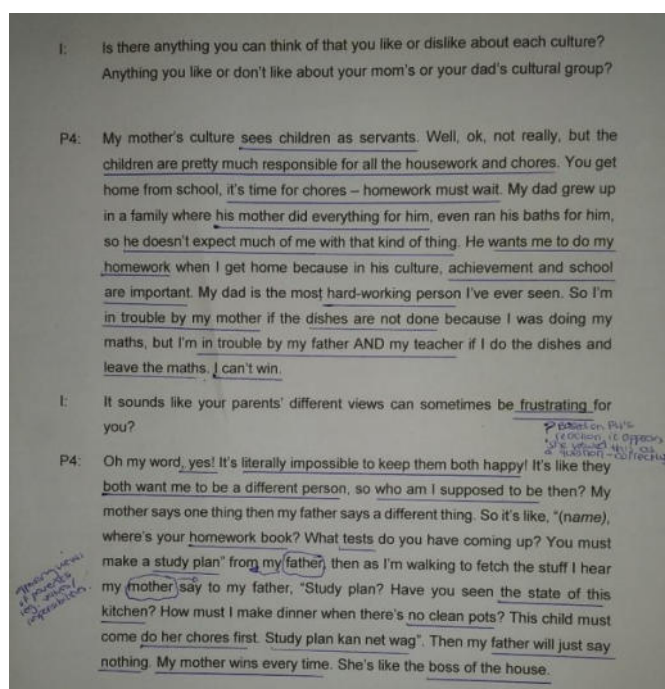


Figure 4.3. Sample of photo elicitation during data analysis

Description of observation	Analysis/Implications	No. of research question this observation relates to
<u>Photo</u> : P4 sitting on a bed with her father and older sister. P4 is 12 years old in the photo. Her arms are tightly hugging her dad and she's smiling.	P4 described a close relationship with her dad. She looks up to him and has respect for how hard he works. Mom is not in the photo. P4 explained she doesn't have many photos of herself with her mother. She gets annoyed as her mom tells her that to start in the photo, etc. With Dad she feels more freedom.	① ④
<u>Video</u> : Family brawl. In the video, P4 is seen jumping off a trampoline into the pool. Her cousins in the pool congratulate & speak to her in English, then they switch to Afrikaans when they speak to each other (cousins from Mom's side).	Language – P4 described how she prefers to speak English and wouldn't speak Afrikaans to her mom, even though her mom tried since P4 was very small. P4 also noticed her parents were part of different cultural groups when she noticed the language difference (one of the factors). The language barrier sometimes makes her feel excluded from her mom's family.	① ② ④

2. Categorise the data into codes.

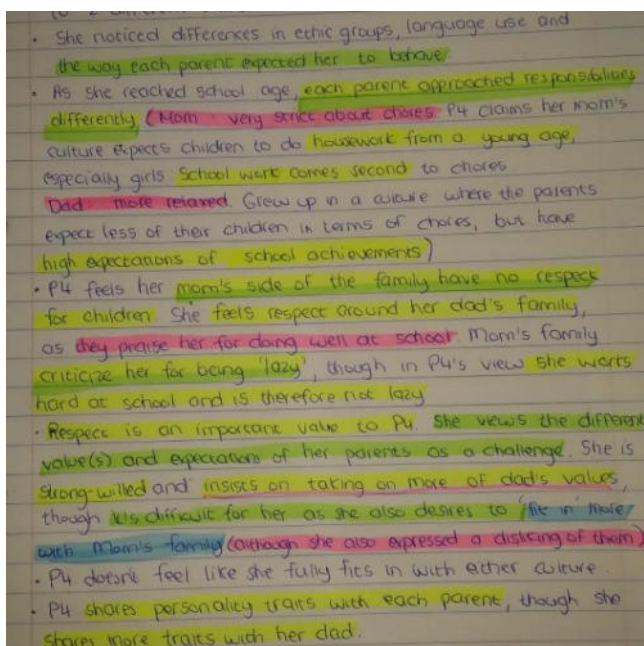
In order to remain focused on the relevant codes, Stuckney (2018) recommends keeping the research questions and storyline in mind while completing these three steps. This was done by assigning a colour to each research question. The colour codes can be viewed in Table 4 below:

Table 4.1. Colour codes assigned to each research sub-question

Research sub-question number:	Assigned colour:
1	pink
2	green
3	yellow
4	blue

Once the colour codes had been assigned, the storyline of each participant was then further examined. Data relevant to each of the four research sub-questions were highlighted according to the corresponding colour code. Please see an example of this process in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. Sample of storyline and colour-coding process



3. Use memos for clarification and interpretation.

After completing the colour-coding process, memos in the form of the storylines of each participant were compared in order to determine similarities and differences in the data provided. A list was then created to document cases where at least three of the four participants shared the same or similar experiences. Through this process, the themes of the data were identified. A sample of this list can be viewed in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5. Sample of thematic analysis process

Narratives / Themes	Participant number	Theme identified? (3 out of 4)
Awareness (when? how?)	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Awareness of discrimination
Preferences (of each group)	(P1) (P3) (P4)	✓ Identification of each group
Conflict in the family	(P1) (P3) (P4)	✓ Challenges / identification
Different expectations	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Challenges
Different / clashing beliefs / values	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Challenges / identification
Outside of family interactions	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Social adaptability / challenges
Languages (bilingual)	(P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Assumptions / identification
Social adaptability	(P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Social adaptability / challenges
Sense of belonging (each group)	(P1) (P3) (P4) (P2 - more integrated sense of belonging)	✓ Challenges / identification
Description of personality / self	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Challenges / identification
Traditions (differing?)	(P2) (P3)	—
Dislike of certain cultural view	(P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Dislike of certain cultural view
Relationship with teachers	(P1) (P2) (P3)	✓ (teacher) / challenges
Relationship with peers	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ Challenges / identification
Approach to friendship	(P1) (P2) (P3) (P4)	✓ " "
Religious influence vs culture	(P1) (P3)	—

The questionnaires were particularly useful in the process of identifying common themes and categories. As the questionnaires administered to the participants all consisted of the same qualitative questions, it was helpful to compare the answers of participants for each specific question, in order to determine if there were any contradictory responses, or any shared or similar experiences that could contribute toward the identification of themes and categories, in combination with the other data collection tools. For example, question 5 of the questionnaire (see Addendum E) enquires about whether the participants feel the need to adapt their behaviour in the presence of each cultural group, in order to meet certain behavioural expectations. Although the participants responded according to their own specific cultural expectations and experiences, the central theme that arose in each participant's response to this question was that they all felt the need to adapt their behaviour in

one way or another. These emerging themes coincided with those identified in the interview transcripts, field notes and photo elicitation schedules.

The data were organised into four main themes, along with various subthemes that were divided into categories. These themes and categories are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Overview of the themes and categories

Theme	Category
1. Influences on identity formation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents versus peers • School and the community
2. Bicultural identification and integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of biculturalism • Development of personality and values • Language • Physical appearance • Level of adaptation • Social factors
3. Challenges of biculturalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of belonging • Managing cultural expectations • Contradicting values and beliefs
4. Advantages of biculturalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adaptability • Development of worldview

The themes and categories were also tabulated along with the research questions for each individual participant, to ensure that the data had been analysed as accurately as possible. Please see Addendum H for a sample of one of these tables.

The themes and codes were then analysed by means of narrative analysis. Narratives relevant to the themes and categories that had been selected from the interview transcripts, photo elicitation sheets, and questionnaires, were then analysed through an interpretivist and social constructionist lens in an attempt to understand the meaning each participant had subjectively attached to their stories. Sameroff's (2009) transactional model of development was applied to understand the significance and effect of the interactions between the participants and those mentioned in their narratives. The theoretical lens of Erikson (1950) and Marcia (1980) was also kept in mind during this process to further understand how the narratives linked with the developmental stage of adolescence.

4.3 Research Findings

The research findings will be presented in terms of the themes and categories identified, along with the narratives of the research participants relevant to each theme. The narratives represent the meaning that each participant attached to her experiences and are presented to support the research findings.

4.3.1 Influences on identity development

In this section, the factors that were found to have the greatest influence on the identity development of the participants are presented. These findings are presented in the light of their application to bicultural identity development. The findings show that interactions with parents, friends, other family members, school, and the broader community all form an important part of this process.

4.3.1.1 *Parents versus peers*

All the participants acknowledged that their parents had played a significant role in the development of their views of themselves, others, and the world. As part of the questionnaires during data collection, each participant and her parents were required to write down which personality characteristics and values applied to each of them. Based on these results, it was found that all of the participants seemed to share an equal amount of characteristics and values with each of their parents. While some of the parents' personal values differed, the adolescents seemed to have adopted a few of each of these as their own. All the participants also adopted values that neither of their parents claimed to have.

However, the participants felt that most of their values came from external experiences, such as friends and school. Their parents had laid the foundation of which values were important in each cultural group, while interactions with their friends allowed them to experience which of these values they wished to adopt for themselves. Participant 4 shared her experience of this as follows:

"I would say that my parents have influenced me, but in different ways. My father's culture has shown me what I want to be, while my mother's culture has been the example of what not to do. Though I think my friends influence me more. My closest friends are very similar to my dad's family, I like the way they think. We motivate each

other in school with tests and stuff. I stay away from the children who remind me of my mom's family! (laughs)"

4.3.1.2 School and the community

The participants believed that external influences, such as friends, school, and the community, had also played a role in their identity formation. Most participants believed that those external influences had played an even bigger role than parents did in shaping their views and values in their adolescent years, while their parents were the more influential role players in their younger childhood years.

All the participants spent most of their waking hours at school, taking part in activities after school or interacting in some way with the broader community. South African communities consist of multiple cultures and languages, providing opportunity for a variety of interactions outside the family circle. It was found that the participants had adopted many values and beliefs based on external interactions, although they were still able to adapt their behaviour respectfully around family members of each culture without changing their own views. Some participants shared their views as follows:

Participant 4:

"My mom's culture expects children to have respect for everyone just because they were born years before you, which I don't agree with. I feel that you should show respect to those who respect you. But I still greet my mom's family members, even the ones who don't show me respect, because that's what the kids in the family must just do."

Participant 1:

"While I don't change my beliefs and values around each cultural group, I certainly edit what comes out of my mouth!"

4.3.2 Bicultural identification and integration

This section focuses on the findings relevant to bicultural identification and integration. This includes factors that contributed to the participants' awareness of a bicultural identity, how they had integrated personality characteristics and values from each culture, the role of language and physical characteristics that were associated with

certain cultures, the extent to which they adapted their behaviour in the presence of each culture, as well as the social factors in the family and society.

4.3.2.1 Awareness of biculturalism

All the participants shared that they were fully aware of their bicultural 'label' and had become aware of this at different stages of their childhoods, ranging from ages 4 to 13 years. All the participants discovered that they were bicultural out of their own; it was not explained to them by a parent or family member. The following factors were found to create this awareness, though not all of these factors apply to every participant:

- Being required to speak a different language to each parent.
- Noticing that each side of the family identified with different ethnic groups.
- Being asked by peers to which ethnic or cultural group they belong.
- Noticing that their family members from each side had different expectations regarding communication and behaviour.
- Noticing that the values they were being taught by each side of the family sometimes clashed.

4.3.2.2 Development of personality and values

Personality characteristics and values came across as significant contributing factors to the participants' experiences of bicultural identity integration. The findings suggest that personality played a role in how the participants interpreted feedback that they received from their socio-cultural environment. With regard to values, interactions with each parent in the same context would often result in contradicting values being taught. Some examples are presented in the narratives below:

Participant 1:

"Spending time alone in my room, my dad would totally understand that I need time for myself. My mom would rather I be proactive and would want me to spend time with the family."

Participant 2:

“My mother grew up in Germany and had lots of freedom. My dad doesn’t understand when I am out for an entire weekend, but my mom does.”

Participant 3:

“My mom’s side is relaxed with spending time with friends, she just asks who it is and where I will go. My dad is more protective. He says no to meeting up with my best friends, just because they are guys. I still don’t understand why.”

Participant 4:

“My mother’s culture sees children as servants. Well, ok, not really, but the children are pretty much responsible for all the housework and chores. You get home from school, it’s time for chores – homework must wait. My dad grew up in a family where his mother did everything for him, even ran his baths for him, so he doesn’t expect much of me with that kind of thing. He wants me to do my homework when I get home because in his culture, achievement and school are important. My dad is the most hard-working person I’ve ever seen. So I’m in trouble by my mother if the dishes are not done because I was doing my maths, but I’m in trouble by my father AND my teacher if I do the dishes and leave the maths. I can’t win.”

Most participants tended to prefer the cultural group with whom they shared their most important values and characteristics. Although some level of adaptation was required for each side of the family, most participants identified more with the group in which they felt they could display their true personality characteristics and be themselves. This does not necessarily indicate any type of correlation between personality characteristics and culture; rather, it suggests that personality possibly plays a role in our social behaviour and our preferences in certain social settings. Some participants’ experience of this are noted below:

Participant 1:

“If I had to choose, I’d say I’m drawn more to my mother’s culture. My own values and beliefs clash quite a lot with ... my father’s side.”

Participant 3:

"I think I act more towards my dad's side... I act like that when I'm under no pressure, alone. Just normal. That's when I'm just myself basically. Like I can't act like my mom's side with no pressure because I just don't know how to do that."

Participant 4:

"I can be rude sometimes. The rudeness I get from my mom's side; there's always conflict in that family. That's also why I prefer my dad's side. I respect those who respect me and I work hard at school. My mother's side doesn't have any role models that I can look up to. My dad's culture is also more welcoming, I think."

It also emerged that all the participants had chosen friends who had similar personality characteristics and values as they had. The participants were not drawn to any particular cultural group when seeking out friendships; rather, all of them had a variety of friends from different cultures.

4.3.2.3 Language

In addition to being raised biculturally, three of the four research participants were also being raised bilingually. Certain languages are known to be associated with certain cultural groups and contexts. The parents of these three participants chose to expose their children to the languages of each of their cultures from birth.

The difference of languages was found to be a factor that contributed to the participants' awareness that they were being raised biculturally and affected which culture they believed they identified with more. It was found that a higher level of fluency in the language of one of their parents created a stronger sense of belonging with that parent's cultural group. The participants believed that this was due to barriers in verbal communication between themselves and the family members whose language they spoke less fluently. In turn, that led them to spend more time with the other parent's side of the family and develop stronger relationships with them.

In cases where one of the parents was unable to speak the language of the other parent, the language that both parents were able to speak became the dominant language at home. When the other parent chose to continue speaking his or her language to the child, the child would still speak the dominant language when in the presence of both parents so that both could understand. This means that these

participants only spoke their other parent's language when they were alone with them or other family members from that cultural group, providing less opportunity for the language to develop. Some participants shared their experiences of this as follows:

Participant 4:

"My mother is Afrikaans speaking. My father didn't like it, he can only speak English. So we had to only speak in English in the house. When my mother's Afrikaans speaking family came to visit, they also had to speak English so that my dad could understand. My mother eventually gave up speaking Afrikaans to me, because I would just answer her in English. When I visit my grandma and cousins on my mom's side, then I'm known as the English child. They will speak Afrikaans around me, then only when someone wants to talk to me directly, then they speak English. It makes me feel left out, like I'm not one of them. I can understand Afrikaans, but I'm too scared to speak it. My mom understands, she told me that when she was a child, she was also too scared to speak English. But then she met my dad and she didn't have a choice (laughs)."

Participant 2:

"I used to identify with my South African culture much more. I didn't speak German until I was 5 years old, because I didn't want to. My mom would talk to me in German and I would answer in English, because I just didn't want to speak German. English is my first language. But by now, I'm actually hoping to go to Germany. I don't identify with one more now, I'm half German and half South African. I like both cultures, but they're very different."

4.3.2.4 Physical appearance

Two of the four participants identified themselves as being mixed race, due to having parents belonging to different racial categories. For these participants, this was one of the factors that made them realise that they were being raised biculturally.

These two participants shared that they had always struggled to classify themselves and did not feel a true sense of belonging to either group. Within the history of the South African context, different race groups have different social experiences. The participants believed that the views that their parents had developed due to their racial

group's socioeconomic history also created a difference in the values that each parent chose to teach them. Participant 4 expressed these views as follows:

"I realised that I was being raised in two different cultures when I saw that my mother was brown and my father was white. My dad used to tell me about his childhood and how he was raised; it was completely different from my mother's childhood. My father's family all have straight hair and a light complexion, my mother's family all have curly hair and a dark complexion. My father's family went to better schools, my mother's family grew up less fortunate than my father's. My dad is very relaxed, if I ask for something he just says yes. But my mom always tells me I must be grateful for what I have, because she never had that."

While cultural differences are not visible to the naked eye, the physical differences of race cannot be hidden. The participants believed that this aspect played a role in their sense of belonging to each cultural group, as well as their interactions with their peers. To express this, Participant 4 shared the following:

"I always stand out when I'm with my family. When I'm with my mom's family, I'm seen as the white child because my skin is much lighter than them. When I'm with my dad's family, I'm seen as coloured because I'm so much darker. When friends ask me what race I am, I never know what to tell them, because seriously, what even am I?"

These words are supported by the following quote from Participant 3:

"I used to struggle to classify myself. I never used to know if I was black or mixed. I also have a few challenges with friends, because some are black and some are mixed or white or other races, but I have to change my way of speaking when I'm with the different types of friends that I have."

Clothing was also found to be a factor contributing to cultural identification. All the participants had trouble with appropriate clothing in the presence of each group. With some cultures requiring traditional attire to be worn at family celebrations, others require wearing clothing reflecting their values, such as clothing covering the body to demonstrate respect. Certain clothing may or may not be seen as appropriate in various contexts.

This was evident from one of the photos shared by Participant 2 during the photo elicitation process. The participant described that in the photo, she is standing next to

her German aunt, who is looking at her with disapproval because she had no shoes on. As they were out in public, it was expected of her to wear shoes, although, owing to the influence of her father's South African culture, she felt free enough to take them off.

This is also reflected in Participant 3's description of her experience with her mother's side of the family, who expected females to wear respectful clothing:

"I couldn't wear shorts in front of them or they would be like, 'What are you wearing? Go put on long pants or something.' I never understood that when I was younger. Every time we would go to a function or something, I would dress myself, or my siblings would dress themselves and then when we were about to walk out of the house my mom was like, 'No! Turn around! Change your top! That's the wrong top!' or 'Change your shoes!' And then you have to suffer. You can't backchat, or you're going to get a whole lecture on having respect and that. My dad's side, they don't have much of an expectation. They are more like, ok we raise you, and you can find your own way. They give you the freedom of having your own characteristics."

4.3.2.5 Level of adaptation

All participants expressed the need to adapt their behaviour around each cultural group to meet social expectations. The main adaptation was found to be that of speech; the types of words used, the topics deemed as appropriate to discuss, and the way in which people of certain age groups were addressed are some examples of this. This is evident in the following narratives of some participants:

Participant 2:

"I saw the differences between my grandparents. My German grandparents ... had different conversation topics to my South African grandparents. You could just tell that their whole lifestyle was completely different. The way they did things, the way they said things, the topics they spoke about. From a young age, I wouldn't speak to them about the same things that I would speak to my South African grandparents about."

Participant 4:

"In my mom's culture, when a child speaks to an adult, you can't say 'you'. You have to say their name, or whatever relation they are to you. So for example, when I talk to my mom, I can't just say, 'How was your day?' I would probably be shouted at and told

I have no respect for my elders. I have to say, 'How was Mommy's day?' or 'Can I ask Mommy something quick?' My dad gets so annoyed when I speak to him in that way, he wants me to just say 'you', like 'how was YOUR day, daddy?' not 'how was daddy's day?' He says it's weird when I talk to him like that, but in my mom's family it's pretty much the law."

The way in which family members from each culture are greeted was also identified as behaviour that needed to be adapted. Some participants found the way in which they were expected to greet family members from one of their cultural groups unpleasant. Their experience is presented below:

Participant 3:

"I find it really irritating that in my mom's culture, one has to kiss on the lips for a greeting. It's seen as not respectful if you don't do it. You have to, HAVE to do it. On my dad's side, we just hug."

Participant 4:

"My mom's culture expects children to greet all elders formally. Good afternoon, good morning, good evening... Also, when we arrive anywhere, I must go look for the adults and say 'Good afternoon, Aunt Mary', even if she is in a room on the other side of the house. It's so annoying. When I visit my dad's family, we just say 'hello' or 'hi' to whoever is there. We don't go knocking on doors to check that all the people in the house have been greeted. The adults also greet the children in my dad's culture. My mom's family will just sit there and if you do nothing then they get cross and say 'Don't you greet? Look at this rude child', while the adults on my dad's side will come and hug me first."

Personality characteristics were also a cause for adaptation. Some characteristics are linked with behaviour that is viewed as inappropriate in some cultures. The participants expressed the challenge of having to behave differently around certain family members, feeling that they could not be themselves and did not fully belong with that group. This corresponds with the findings presented in section 4.3.3. Some participants shared their experiences as follows:

Participant 3:

“I have to act more reserved by my mom, but by my dad’s side I’m free and can act like a child and I don’t have to be really reserved.”

Participant 1:

“With my dad’s family, I am expected to be perfectly Christian, respectable, straight and conservative, no surprises. With my mom’s family ... I am much more myself.”

4.3.2.6 Social factors

Social factors in the family unit also contributed to participants identifying more with a particular culture. Some participants identified more with the side of the family where there were cousins of a similar age group with whom they had created happy childhood memories and bonds. The amount of time spent with each side of the family also played a role in how connected the participants felt with each side. The participants also identified more with the culture that matched their own views of people’s roles in society. An example of this was presented by Participant 4:

“My mom’s culture is preparing young girls to be wife and mother material and I feel my father’s is more about getting a career and being independent. I believe in making and achieving goals, becoming someone in life, making yourself proud, never giving up. So I prefer my dad’s side – there are more role models on his side.”

4.3.3 Challenges of biculturalism

All the participants had experienced some challenges in their experience of being bicultural. These challenges were experienced in different contexts and at different ages, although the themes that emerged were applicable to all the participants. These challenges focused on experiencing a sense of belonging in the family, managing conflicting expectations from each parent’s cultural group, and coping with contradicting values between themselves and family members.

4.3.3.1 Sense of belonging

The findings presented in section 4.3.2.4 reflect that it was a challenge for some of the participants to experience a sense of belonging to each side of the family due to physical attributes, such as skin colour or type of clothing. Along with other differing attributes, most participants shared that they experienced some form of feeling caught between their two cultural worlds. They perceived themselves as not completely

belonging to either culture; instead, they have pieces of each. Participant 1 summarised this view as follows:

“I don’t feel like I fulfil either [culture]. It is difficult to feel drawn to one, in particular when both feel unfinished.”

Some participants also felt that they would be disappointing one side of the family, by choosing to take on the values and characteristics of the other side. There was also a sense of feeling that they may not be accepted by one of the cultural groups, if they were to choose the values of the other group. Some participants shared their experience of this as follows:

Participant 3:

“On my mom’s side, they bring you up as you need to be respectful. You need to have manners, you need to be proper, and you need to have etiquette. They try to bring you up as a really respectful person and if that doesn’t work out, then they kind of look at you a bit differently than the rest. So they’re kind of like, ‘Oh you’re that person that didn’t grow up with any respect.’”

Participant 1:

“I feel like I’ve grown up to be not what my dad’s side of the family thought I was going to be. So there’s a much bigger gap between us now.”

4.3.3.2 Managing cultural expectations

All the participants experienced the challenge of coping with different cultural expectations from each side of the family. Different types of behaviour and mannerisms were expected from each side, meaning the participants were expected to adapt in order to fit with each group. Some participants found it challenging to learn the difference between these expectations as young children. In this regard, Participant 3 said the following:

“When you’re younger, you never know when you’re actually right and wrong, so you never know when you’re doing the right thing. If you do something, like sometimes if I do something then my mom is like, ‘Don’t do that! Don’t do it here!’ Then I’m like, ‘But ... it’s just this ...’ (laughs). But she says, ‘No! Don’t do it!’ My dad’s side would just

say, 'Ok, go have fun, go outside ... you can walk around ... go get milk ...' and my mom would say, "No, stay here! Sit here!"

Another challenge was to understand the difference in social and gender roles. There were different cultural expectations of how each gender should behave and what types of responsibilities they should fulfil in the family and society. It was a challenge for the participants whose parents' expectations in this regard clashed. This is demonstrated by some of the participants' responses below:

Participant 2:

"My South African grandfather was the man of the house, while my German grandmother was the woman of the house. She was in charge. That's another difference between being South African and German. In South Africa, the father is the person of the house and in Germany it's the woman. The mother is often in charge. That's why it's so difficult for my family."

Participant 4:

"In my mother's family, the girls clean and cook. Boys do nothing. When I visit my mother's family, I have different responsibilities than when I'm with my father's family. If my mother's family finds out that I have only been cleaning my room and not the rest of the house, they call me spoilt and make fun of me."

4.3.3.3 Contradicting values and beliefs

All the participants had experienced some form of clash regarding values and beliefs, either between themselves and one side of the family, or between other family members from each culture. This created conflict within the family unit. Participants whose parents' cultural norms differed vastly experienced more internal conflict regarding their sense of belonging, as well as external conflict with the side of the family with whom their values and beliefs clashed. Similar cultural norms between parents had the opposite effect. Participant 1 related her experience of this conflict as follows:

"A big challenge would be the big war between the two sides of the family, leaving my sister and myself in the middle. On my dad's side of the family, they are very conservative, straight-forward. My mom's side of the family is completely open, basically the opposite. Not conservative at all. This has caused a lot of clashes."

Traditions celebrated in each culture varied. While some were religious traditions celebrated among multiple cultures, others were specifically applicable to only one cultural group. Family conflict manifested in cases where each cultural group also had differing religious views, especially in cases where religious and cultural traditions of each group took place on the same day and the participants would have to choose which one to attend. It was also a challenge when parents of certain cultural groups who did not agree with the other parents' beliefs tried to prevent their children from taking part in cultural traditions. Some participants shared their stories as follows:

Participant 1:

"When it came to religious days, like Christmas for instance, I always did Christmas as the presents and lunch thing with my mom. But my other side of the family always went to church. Then when we wanted to do something altogether, it would be like 'But why aren't you going to church?' or 'Why aren't you coming for lunch?'"

Participant 3:

"On my mom's side, there's something called Mgithi, where boys who are 17 or 18 go to the bush and then they become men. On my dad's side, that doesn't happen. I think my brothers want to go, after going to my uncle's one which was in January, my brothers wanted to do the same thing because they found it really interesting. My dad actually refused them to do that, because there's a risk of dying there as well."

4.3.4 Advantages of biculturalism

Although many challenges regarding biculturalism were identified, the participants believed that they had some advantages over their monocultural friends. In many ways, belonging to two cultures can be a positive experience. The participants believed that they were more adaptable in social situations than their monocultural peers were, and that they had been exposed to more worldviews on which they could base their beliefs, due to the differing worldviews of each culture.

4.3.4.1 Adaptability

All the participants believed that growing up in a bicultural household had helped them to be more adaptable to people and circumstances. They believed that, in comparison with their monocultural friends, they were better able to read people and situations and adapt their speech and behaviour accordingly.

Although the adaptation between group norms was experienced as a challenge for some, they were still able to navigate between the two when in the presence of one of the particular groups. Examples were demonstrated by some participants as follows:

Participant 3:

“Growing up in a bicultural home, I have the tendency of switching. So for example if I’m with Xhosa people, then I would act a certain way to fit in, then as soon as I’m with coloured people then I’ll act differently, then when I’m with my German friends at school I’ll act totally differently. So I have different ways to act. And sometimes that clashes because when the groups come together as one then I don’t know what to do, how to act. And some people are like, ‘You act different when you’re with different people.’”

Participant 4:

“I have to change the way I speak when I’m with each side of the family, like I have to change my accent. Even though my mom’s family speak Afrikaans, when they do speak English they have a completely different accent and I have to speak English like them. If I speak with my father’s accent around them, they will laugh at me and say I mustn’t think I’m better than them.”

4.3.4.2 Development of worldviews

Various cultures teach and model various worldviews. The term *worldview* refers to the way in which an individual views the world through various personal perspectives, such as morally, socially, ethically or philosophically (Lonner and Ibrahim, 1996). A worldview forms the basis of an individual’s beliefs and assumptions about the world around him or her.

The participants believed that they were more open to the views of others, but were less likely to accept ‘standard’ approaches to daily tasks. In other words, the participants believed that they did not like to be told that there was only one single way in which a task should be approached. For example, when the participants were asked to describe their relationship with their teachers at school, it was found that there were clashes. The participants believed that being exposed to multiple sets of beliefs and norms had shown them that there was more than one way to perceive a situation, making it difficult for them to accept the authority of teachers who had a strict, authoritative approach in the classroom. The participants worked better with teachers

who were more open-minded and applied teaching methods that were more democratic, whereby the opinions of all learners were considered.

Although the conflict caused by the clashing beliefs of each culture was experienced as unpleasant, the participants believed that the clashing views had also given them the advantage of seeing things from two sides, as well as being able to apply the views to other situations. These experiences seem to have strengthened the participants' capacity for introspection and reflection, as they were able to consider multiple factors when considering their own emotional and mental processes.

It was sometimes confusing for the participants to grow up in a family where some of the values they were taught were completely contradictory; however, this also gave them more exposure to different worldviews and to see how these worldviews were applied in daily life. Some participants shared their views as follows:

Participant 2:

"I like that I have a little bit of both [cultures]. I need both."

Participant 3:

"[Growing up with two cultures] made me more aware of how certain cultures treat certain people. It kind of formed me into this person, that I'm not only on one culture's side, I actually kind of know a bit of both cultures. It shaped me into this person of two cultures coming into one and kind of mix and matching things from both cultures to maybe raise my kids well in the future."

Participant 4:

"I think I understand people better. Not only people from my own cultures, but I think having two cultures has made me just understand and accept everyone better. Even things I don't like, I will still think, ok maybe they are doing it because that's just normal for them. My friends who have one culture will sometimes see someone do something and say, 'Why is that person being so weird?', then I will tell them not to be so judgemental, because something weird to somebody might be something normal for somebody else."

"I sometimes feel like I'm half and half, but actually, I think growing up with two cultures has made me be even more of a person, if that makes sense."

4.4 Discussion of research findings

In this section, the research findings are discussed in the light of the theoretical framework and existing literature. The discussion is divided into the four research sub-questions, with the relevant findings and literature presented in order to provide answers to the questions.

4.4.1 Identification in each culture

Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?

When interpreting the findings through the lens of interpretivism and social constructionism, it is important to consider that the level of bicultural integration or identification with each cultural group would have been determined by the type of experiences the individual had had with each cultural group and the subjective meaning that was placed on the experiences. Therefore, experiences interpreted as positive or that created a sense of belonging more likely would create a stronger sense of identification with that particular cultural group.

The research findings suggest that the participants tend to identify more with the culture in which they can 'be themselves'. They tend to experience a firmer sense of belonging when the cultural norms reflect the values that are important to the individual and where their preferred personality characteristics and the behaviours that accompany these are viewed as appropriate. These findings support those of Grosjean (2015), suggesting that bicultural individuals could identify with one, both, or neither of the cultures, depending on which values and characteristics each culture emphasises.

Language was identified as an important factor for cultural identification. The participants believed that they identified more with the cultural group in which they could speak their preferred language, often resisting the language of Parent A by answering them in the language of Parent B. This resistance to the cultural cue of language suggests that these individuals experience a low level of identity integration (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002), possibly because they feel that one of their cultural identities is left out of the social context due to the less dominant language being spoken (Mok & Morris, 2012). As suggested by Huynh et al. (2018), bicultural

individuals who experience conflict between their cultural identities may still be able to blend them into everyday life.

The findings revealed that the participants were more likely to identify with the cultural group with whom they had spent more time, or in which there were more family members of a similar age group where happy memories had been formed. During adolescence, the development of cognitive abilities allows the individual to examine and integrate autobiographical memories for the first time (Habermas & Bluck, 2000). These memories likely may consist of interactions and experiences with significant others, such as close family members. This process plays a role in how individuals develop their view of themselves and the world, thus also contributing to identity formation and integration.

4.4.2 Challenges experienced by bicultural adolescents during identity formation

What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?

The findings suggest that before reaching adolescence, the participants may have had trouble in learning the difference between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Behaviour that is regarded as appropriate in the culture of one parent may be deemed inappropriate in the other parent's culture. The literature offers insight into why this is experienced as a challenge for children, stating that the expectations that a parent has for a child will affect how he or she perceives and reacts to the child's behaviour; the meaning that the child attaches to these interactions with the parents can affect how all future relationships are experienced (De Witt, 2009). Based on Figure 2.1, the child's view of him- or herself, others and the world will be affected by the reactions of his or her parents to his or her behaviour. Therefore, it is understandable that when a specific type of behaviour receives a positive or neutral reaction from one parent, only to receive a negative reaction from the other parent, this can lead the child to be confused regarding which behaviours are appropriate in society.

Although the research findings show that the difference in culturally appropriate behaviours has been learnt by the time the individual reaches adolescence, it remains a challenge to navigate between these behaviours in the presence of each cultural group. Existing literature suggests that parental attitudes still play an important role in

adolescents' psychological well-being during identity development, with parental acceptance playing an important role (Sandhu et al., 2012). This correlates with the research findings, as the participants were more likely to identify with the culture of the parent from whom they received the most acceptance.

The literature suggests that some individuals perceive their two cultural identities as compatible, while others may experience a sense of conflict in terms of their sense of belonging to the respective cultures (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This challenge was confirmed in the findings of my study, where the inability to feel a true sense of belonging emerged as one of the main challenges for the participants. This challenge was experienced more intensely when the different cultural groups also consisted of different race groups or languages. Literature shows that the task of integrating elements from two differing sets of cultural norms and values can be confusing for adolescents (Chen et al., 2012). This was true for the participants, who all reported some form of feeling caught between their two cultural worlds.

The findings suggest that some participants are afraid of disappointing one side of their family by choosing to adopt the cultural values and norms of the other side of the family. They also tend to worry that they will not be accepted by the cultural group whose norms they have chosen not to adopt. The literature links such feelings of guilt and anxiety to neuroticism, a trait that can predict challenges in bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). These authors suggest that neuroticism predisposes individuals to anticipate problems in social settings or misinterpret behaviours. Hussain (2018) also found that neuroticism has a negative effect on the well-being of bicultural individuals.

A clash of values and beliefs between cultural groups was another challenge. The participants experienced a clash either between themselves and a certain side of the family, or between other family members from either side. The participants experienced this conflict as particularly negative, often causing them to avoid the cultural group in which the conflict was experienced and spend more time with the group in which their own values were emphasised. This finding contradicts the existing literature, which states that individuals who experience a subjective sense of value fulfilment within one cultural identity often feel more motivated to integrate this identity with other cultural identities (Oppenheim-Weller & Kurman, 2017).

4.4.3 The effect of biculturalism on the development of personality characteristics and values

How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values and personality characteristics in adolescence?

According to the literature, personality characteristics tend to remain stable throughout life and predispose individuals to think or act in certain ways (McAdams & Pals, 2006), while values are learnt based on social interactions between members of a cultural group (Reber & Reber, 2001). Parents or other family members reacted to behaviours either positively or negatively. The literature states that parents' reactions to their children's behaviour shape the way in which the children view themselves and the world (De Witt, 2009). The findings suggest that, based on their family members' reactions, the participants were able to adapt their behaviour around each cultural group, although the situations in which their natural characteristics were rejected caused them to feel discomfort. This finding is supported by the following participant narratives:

Participant 3:

"You never know when you're actually right and wrong"

"So I have different ways to act ... when the groups come together as one then I don't know what to do, how to act."

"I have to act more reserved by my mom, but by my dad's side I'm free"

Participant 4:

"My mother's family ... they call me spoilt and make fun of me."

"If I speak with my father's accent around [my mother's family], they will laugh at me and say I mustn't think I'm better than them."

"I had to practice this accent for years before I could talk like [my mother's family]"

The findings suggest that the participants feel more comfortable and identify more with the cultural group in which their preferred personality characteristics are accepted. In these situations, they feel a stronger sense of belonging. In the presence of family

members where they cannot 'be themselves', they may feel drained and uncomfortable.

In the context of biculturalism, it should be kept in mind that the participants, unlike their monocultural peers, have been exposed to two sets of cultural expectations from birth. In some cases, this has provided them with the opportunity to experience their true nature as being either accepted, or rejected. While one side of the family may have discouraged natural ways of being, the other side may have created a safe space in which these characteristics could flourish. Unlike monocultural children, who could experience rejection of certain characteristics from both family sides, bicultural children are often given the opportunity to experience acceptance from at least one side of the family. The research findings suggest that this acceptance of preferred personality characteristics may have a positive effect on identity development. Owing to their experiences of having the same characteristics and behaviours both rejected and encouraged in their differing cultural contexts, the participants of this study appeared very aware of how their own characters affected their behaviour and others around them. Receiving positive reactions to behaviours that had received negative reactions from other family members provided the participants the opportunity to see themselves in a positive way, as well as to decide for themselves who and how they wished to be. This was also reflected in the development of their own personal values. All the participants of this study believed that they were able to maintain their own values and beliefs, even when in the presence of family members whose cultural group did not agree with them.

The findings suggest that parents play an important role in the development of young children's values, while friends play a more important role in adolescence. These findings are supported by the literature, which states that adolescents spend more time with friends of the same age and increasingly value their friends' opinions and expectations (Brown & Larson, 2009). As discussed in section 2.7.1, Marcia's (1980) identity status model suggests that friendships provide an important context in which exploration and commitment can take place, which are essential aspects of identity formation. This is confirmed by the findings of my study, which suggest that interactions with parents lay the foundation for the development of values, while friendships in adolescence provide an opportunity to experiment with these values and to decide to which ones to commit.

4.4.4 Extent of adaptation in the presence of each culture

To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

The literature speaks of cultural cues or forms of verbal and non-verbal communication associated with a specific cultural group that would cause an individual to react similarly to how he or she is addressed. Adolescents who have a low level of identity integration are resistant in conforming to cultural cues (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). The research findings partially support this. All the participants of this study presented some form of resistance against the cultural cues of their less dominant culture; however, they adapted their behaviour in certain aspects in order to meet family expectations. Language was the aspect with regard to which the most resistance was shown. At some point, the participants who had been raised bilingually refused to speak the language of their less dominant culture. The literature suggests that this resistance is likely to take place due to one of the cultural identities feeling left out in the social context of the other cultural identity (Mok & Morris, 2012). Language is an important aspect of one's identity, as it is the means by which one makes sense of oneself and the world (Holloway et al., 2004). The research findings emphasise this important link between language and identity: Although all the participants understood the language of the less dominant culture, choosing to speak their preferred language in the presence of other family members may have allowed them to maintain that part of their identity.

The research findings suggest that, although the participants are able to adapt their behaviour in different cultural groups, they do not change their own values or beliefs when doing so.

4.4.5 The South African context

The findings of this study will now be discussed with reference to the culturally diverse South African context. Erikson (1974) describes adolescence as a 'stormy' or challenging segment of youth in which adolescents struggle with the various changes and increasing independence of the transitional period between childhood and adulthood. Sameroff & Mackenzie (2003) state that the interplay between an individual and his or her context is an important factor in the development of any process.

Therefore, it was important to consider the role of the South African context in attempting to answer the research questions.

The findings suggest that being raised in South Africa played a role in the type of expectations the participants' parents had for them. Parents of the participants who belong to cultural groups of other countries appeared more prepared to give their children freedom, while parents of South African cultures seemed more concerned about safety. South Africa is known for its high levels of crime and violence, being ranked by the United Nations as one of the top 10 worst countries that report crime statistics (Kriegler, 2016). While adolescents in some other countries may enjoy the freedom of getting on a bus alone to go to the mall, walking to school, or spending a day out exploring the town with friends, this is not always possible for those in South Africa. The participants who had one parent from a non-South African cultural group expressed that their South African parent preferred them to stay at home on weekends, while their other parent did not mind if they went out. This is expressed in the narratives of some participants below:

Participant 1:

"On the other hand, my mother wants me to go out with friends. She was more rebellious when she was younger and wants that I am honest with her, while my dad would prefer that I stay at home."

Participant 2:

"My mother grew up in Germany and had lots of freedom. My dad doesn't understand when I am out for an entire weekend, but my mom does."

For adolescents who are exploring their newfound autonomy, not being able to go out and experience the world around them can be a challenge. According to Marcia's (1980) identity status model, it is important for adolescents to explore each identity domain sufficiently before making a commitment, in order to reach identity achievement. In the South African context, where parents need to keep a closer eye on their children due to the crime rate, this exploration could be hindered. These findings suggest that adolescents growing up in South Africa could be limited in the amount and types of exploration they can undertake.

Owing to the history of segregation caused by the Apartheid government, intercultural or interracial marriages were limited in the past. The literature shows that mixed marriages have increased significantly in recent years (Amoateng & Heaton, 2015). This has resulted in more children in South Africa being born into bicultural families. Although biculturalism is common throughout the world, bicultural adolescents in South Africa are likely to have parents with very different backgrounds. Certain cultural groups were given the advantage during the Apartheid years, resulting in them receiving better education, housing, and overall quality of life. Participant 4 shared her awareness of her parents' different backgrounds and how these had affected the values that each parent had chosen to teach her. Her narrative is presented below:

"My dad used to tell me about his childhood and how he was raised; it was completely different from my mother's childhood"

"My father's family went to better schools, my mother's family grew up less fortunate than my father's. My dad is very relaxed; if I ask for something, he just says yes. But my mom always tells me I must be grateful for what I have, because she never had that."

Gender roles are another factor to consider. The research findings suggest that the participants experience a challenge when each of their cultures has different expectations regarding male and female roles in society. Gender inequality is evident in the literature, which states that men around the world earn more money than women do and receive better work opportunities than women do (Lawson et al., 2019). In South Africa, it was found that for every ten men, only eight women are employed or actively looking for work (Omarjee, 2018). With around 30.4 million South Africans currently living in poverty (Koko, 2019), it is clear that there is a need for more opportunities for women to enter the workforce. In cultures where women are expected to stay at home and raise children, this can be a challenge. Adolescents are faced with the task of connecting the skills and roles developed in earlier stages with the expectations that they foresee in their future adults years (Erikson, 1974). The research findings suggest that being raised biculturally could, in some cases, create confusion with regard to what these skills and roles for each gender are.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the process of how the data were analysed to provide answers to the research questions. The research findings were presented and discussed in terms of the existing literature and theoretical framework. Narratives from the participants were also provided to determine the meaning each adolescent attached to his or her own story. The next chapter focuses on the recommendations, limitations, and reflection of this study.

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS, REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study of the identity formation of adolescents growing up in bicultural households in South Africa. The purpose of this study was to create a deeper understanding of how cultural norms, beliefs, values, and practices shape and affect the identity development of adolescents, specifically those who grow up with two cultural groups. The findings of the study aim to enable educators, parents, and professionals in the field of child development to assist bicultural adolescents with regard to a smoother process of identity formation by creating awareness of the processes and challenges encountered during this developmental stage. This knowledge can be considered in creating preventative and intervention strategies for dealing with these challenges, as well as providing a framework from which adolescents and significant adults in their lives can understand the processes of their identity development.

As existing literature mostly focuses on adolescents who have become bicultural due to migrating to a new country with a different dominant culture to their own, this study aimed to focus only on adolescents who had been born into a bicultural family, with parents belonging to different cultural groups. With a large body of existing international literature, this study aimed to provide insight into this topic in the unique South African context, where history and diversity are important contributing factors to consider.

This was a qualitative study with an interpretive and social constructionist approach, led by the assumption that people construct their own subjective meanings as they interact with the world in which they live (Packer, 2011). The study was underpinned by the work of Erikson and Marcia to provide a framework for understanding the processes that take place during adolescent identity formation. The theoretical framework of Sameroff's transactional model of development was also applied to understand the role of interactions between adolescents and significant others in their identity formation. The narrative approach allowed the exploration of subjective meanings attached to the stories shared by the adolescents during the data-collection process, as well as how these stories shaped their identities in their cultural contexts.

In this chapter, a summary of the research findings will be presented as suggested answers to the research questions. This will be followed by recommendations for teachers, parents, and adolescents to cope with the challenges experienced as bicultural individuals during adolescence. The limitations of the study will also be discussed, followed by implications for further research and concluding remarks.

5.2 Summary of Research Findings

This study aimed to provide answers to the following research questions:

1. Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?
2. What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?
3. How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values and personality characteristics in adolescence?
4. To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?

A summary of the findings in relation to the research questions is presented in Table 6. These findings are applicable to the bicultural adolescents who took part in this study and are a reflection of the subjective meaning attached to their experiences and interactions in their cultural groups.

Table 5.1. Summary of the findings in relation to the research questions

Research Question	Suggestions Based on the Research Findings
Do individuals belonging to more than one culture identify more with one of those cultures?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The participants tend to identify more with the culture in which their natural personality characteristics are accepted and they can be their authentic selves. • They feel a stronger sense of belonging with the group that upholds the same values as they do. • In the case of participants who were raised bilingually, they tend to identify more with the cultural group who speak their preferred language.

Research Question	Suggestions Based on the Research Findings
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They feel more of a connection with the group with which they have spent more time, or where there are family members of the same age group with whom they relate.
<p>What challenges with regard to identity formation do bicultural individuals experience in adolescence?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As younger children, the participants struggled to learn the difference between culturally appropriate and inappropriate behaviour due to different reactions from each parent. This improves as they reach adolescence due to increased understanding and adjustment, although it remains a challenge to have to change one's behaviour in the presence of each cultural group. • A clash of values and beliefs, either between the adolescent and one side of the family, or between other family members, often leads to family conflict. • Some participants struggle to feel a true sense of belonging to each of their cultural groups; they often feel stuck in the middle. • They may be afraid of disappointing one side of the family by choosing to adopt the values and norms of the other side. There is also a fear that they will not be accepted by the other group in doing so.
<p>How does belonging to more than one culture affect the development of the individual's values and personality characteristics in adolescence?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some participants experience that their natural personality characteristics are accepted by one group and rejected by the other group. They tend to feel more comfortable in the group where they can be themselves more. Having to hold back on their predisposed ways of being in the presence of the other group causes them to feel drained and uncomfortable. • The adolescents seemed to share an equal amount of characteristics and values with each of their parents, although they seemed to identify more with the parent who shared their most important values. • Although they adapted their behaviour in the presence of certain family members, the adolescents still maintained their own values and beliefs.

Research Question	Suggestions Based on the Research Findings
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents seem to play a bigger role in the development of values in early childhood, while friends and other external influences such as school play a bigger role in adolescence. Parents provide the foundation, while friends and the outside world provide opportunities for exploration of these values during adolescence.
To what extent do bicultural individuals adapt socially when in the presence of other members of each culture?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The participants are able to adapt their behaviour in each cultural group, although their natural, predisposed way of being does not change. The bilingual participants tend to resist speaking the language of the less dominant culture. Language is an important aspect of identity; choosing to speak one language even when in the presence of the other language group could help bicultural adolescents to experience a more consistent sense of identity.
Application to the South African context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Owing to high crime levels in South Africa, adolescents tend to have less freedom and therefore less opportunity to explore various identity domains to make a commitment. Parents from non-South African cultural groups tend to allow more freedom, while South African parents are more protective. Owing to the South African history of Apartheid, many bicultural adolescents may have parents from very different backgrounds. This can lead to different life and cultural values being taught, such as the level of importance placed on material assets in comparison with value being placed on family or relationships. Bicultural adolescents are often unsure of the gender roles they should fulfil in society, as these differ in some cultural groups.

5.3 Recommendations

It is clear from the research findings, as well as the existing literature (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010; Dumas et al., 2009; Kroger et al., 2010; Marcia, 1980; Meeus et al., 2010; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011; Sandhu et al., 2012), that adolescents require

opportunities for sufficient exploration of each identity domain, such as career, religion or gender roles, before making any commitments. Parents, teachers, and professionals such as educational psychologists play an important role in this process, as they are often the supportive mentors who will need to provide the freedom for adolescents to engage safely in the exploration process. Recommendations for parents, schools and child development professionals are discussed next; however, these recommendations could also overlap with and be applicable in multiple contexts by various role players. For example, professionals who play a role in providing psycho-education to parents and teachers of adolescents should also be aware of the recommendations for these groups.

5.3.1 Recommendations for parents

The South African context and its high crime rate does not always allow exploration to take place outside the home or school environment. It is common for South African parents to drive their teenagers to the mall or friends' homes, rather than allowing them to walk or make use of public transport due to the risk of being robbed or assaulted. Some parents may simply not allow them to go at all. While it is natural for parents to want to protect their children and ensure their safety, it is important that they do not become overly controlling. The literature shows that overly controlling parents prevent adolescents from being able to engage in sufficient exploration of identity domains, causing them to make premature commitments (Sandhu et al., 2012). This finding was especially true for teenage girls. To prevent this from happening, it is recommended that parents try to find a balance between safety and freedom. Options for identity exploration, such as career open days, spending time with friends, religious gatherings, or other events can be discussed as a family, while considering the safest options to undertake these activities.

According to the research findings, adolescents feel more comfortable and accomplished when their natural personality characteristics and the behaviours that accompany these are accepted. These findings are supported by the literature, which suggests that parents who display more acceptance and less avoidance are significantly related to higher levels of joviality and happiness in adolescents, particularly teenage girls (Sandhu et al., 2012). As we live in a multicultural world, with South Africa especially known for its cultural diversity, acceptance of all behaviours

outside of the family home will not always be possible. However, adolescents still need the opportunity to get to know their own characteristics and to become aware of how these affect their behaviour.

Self-awareness can assist adolescents to become comfortable with themselves and therefore develop a stronger sense of identity. As the findings of the study revealed, young bicultural children do not always understand why certain behaviours are allowed with one cultural group and not with the other. Parents do not always explain to their bicultural children that these differences in expectations are due to cultural reasons. The parents themselves may not even be aware of this. Therefore, cultural awareness and education is important for bicultural families to assist their children through a smooth process of identity development. Parents of different cultures should discuss their differences in values and beliefs and decide together which of these they would like to teach their children. Although certain important values from each culture may still clash, it is nonetheless important for parents to be aware of this, so that they can inform their children of the reason for the different reactions to certain behaviours and avoid confusion. Parents should respect the child's natural way of being, while guiding him or her within the boundaries of the cultural group and other settings. For example, if a child is naturally curious, he or she may ask many questions to the adults around them. Certain cultural groups may see this as disrespectful. In this case, the parents should accept that this is a characteristic of their child, while teaching the child in which settings he or she can ask questions and in which he or she should rather keep quiet and save his or her questions for when he or she is in a more appropriate setting. This will show the child that it is acceptable to be him- or herself, while teaching him or her the self-control he or she needs to adapt within different cultural and social contexts.

The literature shows that adolescents are more likely to feel that their two cultural identities are integrated when they have positive memories of experiences linked to being bicultural (Cheng & Lee, 2013). Negative memories of biculturalism, such as family conflict due to clashing values, feeling that one does not fully belong or worrying that one will disappoint or not be accepted by one of the cultural groups are likely to cause a low level of identity integration. Therefore, bicultural families need to assist their children in creating positive memories of their bicultural identity. Cultural awareness is once again important in this regard. Parents also need to speak to their extended family and make them aware that they are raising their children within both

of their cultural beliefs. Of course, this will not solve all the possible clashes that may arise, but could assist in preventing some of the challenges of bicultural identity development that could become negative memories in the future.

Confusion of gender roles in different cultures was identified as a challenge for bicultural individuals. Adolescents are nearing adulthood and preparing to take on their role in society; therefore, being unsure of gender expectations due to differing cultural views could make the transition between adolescence and adulthood a confusing time. Although the views of each cultural group should be respected, parents should make their children aware of the different gender expectations based on their cultures, as well as the gender expectations of the context in which they live. This is often a sensitive topic. While many people in the world are fighting for gender equality, there are still gender-specific cultural and religious roles that may not be discriminated against. It is important for adolescents to engage in sufficient exploration of their gender role in different settings. While they may be expected to take on certain responsibilities in the family setting, this may not be the case in society. Awareness of the expectations of gender-specific behaviour can assist adolescents when it comes to making commitments to that part of their identities.

5.3.2 Recommendations for schools

A multicultural place, such as a school, could also be a suitable place to teach values and characteristics. The findings suggest that while parents lay the foundation for learning values and beliefs in childhood, external influences such as school and friends play a bigger role in this process during adolescence. Settings away from the family environment provide a 'practice ground' for adolescents to explore their different characteristics and values and see how the rest of the multicultural world reacts to these, before deciding to which domains they wish to commit. Teachers could assist their learners with getting to know themselves and learning how to navigate their different behaviours in a social setting. This could be done in various ways, such as lessons, games, activities, workshops, or classroom discussions. South Africa is also fortunate enough to have a whole day dedicated to cultural awareness: Heritage Day is a public holiday celebrated in South Africa on the 24th of September each year. On this day, people are encouraged to celebrate their cultural heritage and share this with others, either by wearing traditional clothes, cooking traditional food, or engaging in

culturally related activities. Schools could use Heritage Day as an opportunity to create cultural awareness among adolescents. In the days leading up to the holiday, the school could allow learners to come to school in traditional clothing or to engage in projects that will enable them to learn more about their own culture and share this knowledge with others.

The research findings also identified advantages of biculturalism, namely being adaptable in diverse groups of people and settings, as well as the opportunity to be exposed to multiple worldviews. In addition to managing the challenges, the advantages should also be emphasised. Teachers could encourage adolescents to share their worldviews during classroom discussions, to create awareness and acceptance of different views that may be influenced culturally. This could enable adolescents to be more understanding and tolerant of those different from them when they venture into the adult world. With South Africa being such a diverse country, teaching our children to accept those who are different to them is a need.

5.3.3 Recommendations for professionals

Various professionals, such as psychologists, counsellors, learning support teachers, or other types of therapists could benefit from increased awareness of bicultural identity development, as they play a highly influential role in the education and facilitation of human developmental processes. Educational psychologists in particular often work closely with parents, young people, teachers, and schools to identify and prevent developmental challenges and to work with these role players to provide suitable interventions. Awareness of the processes and challenges endured by bicultural adolescents can assist professionals working in the South African context to provide appropriate psychological education to parents and teachers, as well as to develop applicable intervention programmes for bicultural adolescents who are experiencing these challenges.

As South Africa is known for its rich cultural diversity, it is recommended that professionals increase their cultural awareness by doing research on the values and norms of local and international cultural groups, particularly of those groups with whom they are currently working. This awareness can assist professionals with showing the necessary cultural sensitivity and respect that may be required to build rapport with clients and develop a relationship of trust. This type of therapeutic relationship is

important for the successful facilitation of prevention and intervention methods, such as individual psychotherapy, family therapy, or psychological education workshops.

When working with bicultural adolescents and becoming aware of the challenges they are experiencing, it is important for professionals to consider the nature of these challenges and which of these may be based on culture. The findings of this study regarding challenges are applicable to the sample group who participated; however, it is important to consider that there may be additional challenges in specific cultural groups that this study did not identify. Professionals can use the findings of this study as a foundation from which to identify other bicultural challenges and to provide appropriate support to the individual, their family, and other role players such as their school.

Speech therapists and other language-related professionals should also consider the role of biculturalism in bilingual speech development. The findings of this study suggest that bilingual bicultural individuals tend to resist speaking the language of the less dominant culture. Awareness of this challenge can assist speech and language professionals in identifying the causes of possible speech development barriers, providing parents and teachers with relevant information, and making appropriate referrals for intervention.

Certain professionals also have access to the community and the creation of programmes that can be of assistance in guiding bicultural adolescents through a smoother process of identity development. It has been recommended that parents should find a balance between safety and freedom to enable their children to have sufficient opportunity for exploration of and commitment to various identity domains; however, the high crime rate of the South African context does not always allow this. It is recommended that professionals engage in community development along with other role players to explore ways in which a safe environment of exploration can be created for young people. For example, community centres or churches can host social events for young people or parents to which professionals are invited to discuss various topics with them. Parents could volunteer to provide safe transport for adolescents to and from the venue. Professionals should engage with the community to determine the barriers of exploration for young people in that specific context and work together to determine how they can be overcome.

5.4 Limitations of the study

All the adolescents who volunteered and were selected as research participants were female. Seeking out male adolescents to take part in the study might have enhanced the research findings.

It must be emphasised that not all of the differing views and expectations of parents are culturally related. As unique individuals, each parent of the participants of this study would have had his or her own life experiences that might have influenced the values they chose to teach their children, not all of which would be related to culture.

This study focused on identity development in relation to culture. Culture is only one aspect of one's identity; other aspects such as nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, language, or religion also play a role in how one views oneself.

This study focused on four adolescents from one school in Cape Town; therefore, the results cannot be generalised to the entire population. Increasing the sample size and involving participants from other schools in South Africa would have helped to strengthen the credibility of the study.

The participants of this study belonged to various cultural groups. Making use of participants who all belonged to the same two groups, e.g. only isiXhosa and Afrikaans groups, might have produced different results. It should be kept in mind that the findings of this study are not specific to any cultural group, but are generalised to various groups.

5.5 Implications for further research

This study differed from other studies on biculturalism in that it focused only on individuals who had been born into a family where parent belonged to different cultural groups, while the majority of the literature focused on biculturalism either due to acculturation after migration or adoption. This gap in the research, specifically in the South African context, needs to be filled with further studies on the experiences of those born into and raised with two different cultures.

Owing to the limitation of only female adolescents participating in the study, research should be conducted on how male bicultural adolescents experience their journey of identity development.

This study focused only on adolescent identity development. A possibility for further research could be to conduct a study on younger children, or individuals in various stages of adulthood, to generate an understanding of the effect of biculturalism across the life span. In order to gain more insight into this possibility, I requested the viewpoint of this study from one of my work colleagues. My colleague is a bicultural adult who has successfully overcome the stage of Identity vs. Role Confusion, as well as the Intimacy vs. Isolation stage that follows. These third party comments on the findings of this study can be viewed as Addendum I. The comments are an indication of the need for future study in this area.

Another interesting future study possibility could be to explore parents' views of raising bicultural children, as well as what type of challenges this may bring from their perspective.

The recommendations of this study suggest ways in which teachers can assist bicultural adolescents with the challenges they experience. Research on the perspective of teachers with bicultural or multicultural learners in their classrooms would also be useful to have a holistic view of the experiences of all role players.

The challenges identified in this study are applicable to the sample group who participated. Not all the participants were members of the same types of cultural groups. There may be many other challenges that have not yet been identified or may be experienced in other cultural groups who did not form part of the study. Further research on other types of bicultural challenges, or challenges applicable to specific cultural groups could also be beneficial in increasing awareness of this topic in South Africa and throughout the world.

5.6 Personal reflections

As mentioned in chapter one, my interest in the topic of this study stems from my own bicultural upbringing. Throughout the study, I was able to identify strongly with many of the experiences and comments shared by the participants.

Identity can consist of many aspects other than culture, such as name, age, gender, language, nationality, race, religion, personality, characteristics, and personal history. However, we often underestimate the important role that culture plays in shaping who we are. Culture is not something that is taught formally in a classroom where we are

aware of what we are learning; rather, it is learnt naturally by taking part in daily life. Family members wear certain clothes, eat certain foods, greet and address each other in specific ways, and have certain expectations of behaviour. All these cultural aspects happen in front of a child from birth and they usually come to accept them as the norm. Culture is not only individual or based on family; an environment such as a school can also have its own culture in terms of norms and values taught and upheld in the school community. When a child enters a classroom for the first time and sees the other children following certain rules enforced by the teacher, these become the norm. At home, we behave in a certain way. At school, we may or may not do certain things. Culture tends to become what we do and who we are without even realising it; this forms the foundation of how we interact with other contexts throughout our lives.

We are exposed to multiple environments throughout our lives: our family, friends and their families, school, university, work, religious institutions and people from all occupations. The norms and values taught in each of these environments often clash and can be confusing for young people. It is not uncommon for children to argue with what their parents have taught them by saying, “But my teacher/friend/pastor said it’s not true!” As has been shown in the literature, as well as my personal experience, our families often form the foundation from which we develop our beliefs and venture out into the world to test what we have learned and determine what we believe for ourselves. It is difficult to develop a solid belief system and sense of identity when the family system consists of a contradictory foundation. It is also difficult for children to learn which behaviours are acceptable or ‘normal’ when one is raised in a country like South Africa, where most children are exposed daily to a wide variety of cultures and practices.

The challenges of adolescence are difficult enough without the added difficulty of contrasting cultural expectations. I believe it is important for all significant role players in bicultural children’s lives to develop their cultural awareness and prepare children for the challenges that they may face at each stage of their development. Helping young people to understand the aspects of which identity consists and that an individual can belong to more than one of each aspect can assist in developing a stronger sense of identity.

5.7 Conclusion

In the words of Erikson (1974), adolescence is a stormy segment of youth characterised by the changes of the transition between childhood and adulthood; no longer a child, but not quite an adult yet.

The autonomy that comes with growing up brings with it many new expectations from parents and other adults, which is made more confusing when the expectations clash due to cultural differences of parents. Parents play an important role in their children's identity development, with reciprocal parent-child interactions shaping the way in which the child view him- or herself and the world, as well as influencing the parents' approach. Friends and external influences such as school and the community provide settings in which adolescents can explore different domains of their identities before deciding to make a commitment to these.

South Africa is home to many diverse cultural groups. With intercultural marriages increasing in recent years, more children are being born into bicultural families. The recommendations of this study highlight a need for parents of bicultural children to develop cultural awareness in their homes, as well as for teachers to do the same in the classroom setting. Therefore, continuous research is required to create awareness of the challenges experienced by these families and to assist bicultural individuals through a smoother process of identity development.

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ADDENDUM A



UNIVERSITEIT
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

19 December 2017

Project number: 1459

Project Title: An Exploration of the Identity Formation of Adolescents Growing Up in Bicultural Households in South Africa

Dear Miss Jamie Brassell

Your response to stipulations submitted on 14 December 2017 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
26 October 2017	25 October 2018

GENERAL COMMENTS:

The researcher indicated that the participating school is a private institution. The researcher should still, however contact the WCED at +27 021 467 9272 to confirm whether she is exempt from obtaining WCED permission to conduct research at this school. If the WCED confirms that their permission is not required, then the researcher may start with data collection as soon as the school confirms their permission. However, if the WCED confirms that permission is required, the researcher must apply for such permission before data collection commences.

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (1459) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Research Protocol/Proposal	Jamie Brassell - Research proposal	19/09/2017	second
Assent form	Assent form	19/09/2017	1
Informed Consent Form	Assent form	19/09/2017	1
Data collection tool	interview schedule	19/09/2017	1
Data collection tool	Observation Schedule	19/09/2017	1
Parental consent form	SU HUMANITIES Consent form template_Parent-Legal guardian	05/12/2017	2
Default	Response to REC Stipulations	05/12/2017	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.

The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrollment. You may not recruit or enroll participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period**. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur**. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrollment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You **may not initiate** any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the REC's requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC

8. Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9. Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrollment, interactions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10. On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

ADDENDUM B



Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za

tel: +27 021 467 9272

Fax: 0865902282

Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000

wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20180110–8115

ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Miss Jamie Brassell
A502 Seaspray
Athens Road
Table View
7441

Dear Miss Jamie Brassell

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: AN EXPLORATION OF THE IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS GROWING UP IN BICULTURAL HOUSEHOLDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **01 February 2018 till 30 June 2018**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

**The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard

Directorate: Research

DATE: 11 January 2018

ADDENDUM C



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
PARENT/LEGAL GUARDIAN CONSENT FOR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

I would like to invite your child to take part in a study conducted by Jamie Brassell, from the Department of Educational Psychology at Stellenbosch University. Your child will be invited as a possible participant because they have indicated an interest in the research topic during their Life Orientation lessons at school.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to explore how growing up in a bicultural household can affect identity development of adolescents in South Africa. A bicultural household can be defined as a home in which one parent belongs to one culture, while the other parent belongs to another culture. Our cultures form a large part of our identities, i.e. who we are, how we see ourselves and how others see us. Teenagers are very focused on getting to know themselves better and exploring their identities as they near adulthood. This study aims to explore how teenagers, who are being raised in a household where one parent belongs to one specific culture and other parent to another culture, are influenced by these cultures during the stage of their personal identity development.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF MY CHILD?

If you consent to your child taking part in this study, the researcher will then approach the child for their assent to take part in the study. If the child agrees to take part in the study, he/she will be asked to participate in two interviews with the researcher. These interviews aim to take place early in 2018, outside of school hours at the convenience of the child/parents/school so as not to interfere with school lessons. The first interview will serve as an introduction to the second interview. Your child will receive some information about the meaning of the terms culture, identity and what these terms mean to them personally. The second interview will take place approximately 2 weeks after the first interview. Your child will be asked to bring some photos/videos of them spending time with their family members to show the researcher during the second interview. The photos/videos will not be kept by the researcher, but will be used for a discussion during the interview and sent home with the child thereafter.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no known risks associated with this study. Should your child feel any emotional discomfort during the interview process, the school counsellor will be available to provide support in this regard. You will also be contacted in the event that additional support is needed.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO THE CHILD OR TO THE SOCIETY

The findings of this study may be able to assist teachers, parents and child development professionals in their work with adolescents. During adolescence (12-18 years of age), the identity of the individual is being formed. This identity formation is influenced by a number of aspects, including the culture within which the child has been raised. This study aims to find out how belonging to two different cultures, which may have different values, norms and beliefs, impacts on the identity formation of the adolescent. If teachers, parents and child development professionals are aware of the processes and challenges of identity formation for bicultural adolescents, they may be able to assist them with these challenges and facilitate the development of a strong sense of identity.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no payment for participation in this study.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR AND YOUR CHILD'S INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you or your child will share with the researcher during this study and that could possibly identify you or your child will be protected. Identifying information, such as your child's name or personal details, will not be included in the final research report. All information collected during the interviewing processes will make use of codes to identify the research participant, which will only be known to the researcher. The names of you or your child will not be included on any of the data collection tools. The data collected will be stored in a locked facility only accessible to the researcher.

As the study aims to possibly assist teachers, parents and child development professionals to have a better understanding of bicultural identity development in teenagers, there is a possibility that the findings of the study will be shared with educational institutions, such as schools or universities, in the future. The information would be shared with the intention of assisting bicultural adolescents through a smooth process of identity development and the development of a strong sense of self. The findings of the study will not contain any information that may identify you or your child.

There is a possibility that the 2 interviews may be tape recorded, to enable the researcher to thoroughly interpret and understand the information collected. If these recordings take place, they will only be kept until the final submission of the research report, whereafter they will be destroyed. You and your child may have access to these recordings at any time during the research process. You or your child may also request that no recordings be made, should you so wish.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You and your child can choose whether to be part of this study or not. If you consent to your child taking part in the study, please note that your child may choose to withdraw or decline participation at any time without any consequence. Your child may also refuse to answer any questions they don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw

your child from this study if you or child wish to no longer participate, or if the researcher sees any reason that withdrawal from the study is in the best interest of the child. The needs and best interest of you and your child will be considered throughout the study.

8. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Jamie Brassell at jamiebrassell7@gmail.com or 0827572682 or the supervisor at Karlien Conradie karlienl@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Your child may withdraw their consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. Neither you nor your child are waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your or your child's rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouch@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARENT/ LEGAL GUARDIAN OF THE CHILD-PARTICIPANT

As the parent/legal guardian of the child I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ agree that the researcher may approach my child to take part in this research study, as conducted by _____

Signature of Parent/Legal Guardian

Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the parent/legal guardian. I also declare that the parent/legal guardian was encouraged and given ample time to ask any questions.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

ADDENDUM D



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
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STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Jamie Brassell from the Department of Educational Psychology at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because you have indicated an interest in the research topic during your Life Orientation lessons at school.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to explore how teenagers, who are being raised in a household where one parent belongs to one specific culture and other parent to another culture, are influenced by these cultures during the stage of their personal identity development. Your teenage years are a time in which you learn a lot about yourself and decide what is important to you and what your beliefs and opinions are. Your culture, or the culture of your parents, can play a role in how this happens. The study aims to find out what teenagers might experience in their process of identity development, when they grow up in a household with two cultures.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you consent to taking part in this study, you will be asked to participate in two interviews with the researcher. These interviews aim to take place at your school early in 2018, outside of school hours at your convenience so as not to interfere with school lessons. The first interview will serve as an introduction to the second interview. You will receive some information about the meaning of the terms culture, identity and what these terms mean to you personally. The second interview will take place approximately 2 weeks after the first interview. You will be asked to bring some photos/videos of you spending time with your family members to show the researcher during the second interview. The photos/videos will not be kept by the researcher, but will be used for a discussion during the interview and sent home with you thereafter.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no known risks associated with this study. Should you feel any emotional discomfort during the interview process, the school counsellor will be available to provide support you in this regard. Your parents will also be contacted if you so wish.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

The findings of this study may be able to assist teachers, parents and child development professionals in their work with teenagers. During your teenage years, you spend a lot of time getting to know yourself better and forming your identity. This identity formation is influenced by

a number of aspects, including your culture, or the culture of your parents. This study aims to find out how belonging to two different cultures, which may have different values, norms and beliefs, could influence your identity development during your teenage years. If teachers, parents and child development professionals are aware of the processes and challenges of identity formation for bicultural teenagers, they may be able to help them with these challenges and guide them with forming a strong identity.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no payment for participation in this study.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with the researcher during this study and that could possibly identify you child will be protected. Identifying information, such as your name or personal details, will not be included in the final research report. All information collected during the interviewing processes will make use of codes to identify you. These codes will only be known to the researcher. Your name will not be included on any of the data collection tools. The data collected will be stored in a locked facility only accessible to the researcher.

As the study aims to possibly assist teachers, parents and child development professionals to have a better understanding of bicultural identity development in teenagers, there is a possibility that the findings of the study will be shared with educational institutions, such as schools or universities, in the future. The information would be shared with the intention of assisting bicultural teenagers through a smooth process of identity development and the development of a strong sense of self. The findings of the study will not contain any information that may identify you.

There is a possibility that the 2 interviews may be tape recorded, to enable the researcher to thoroughly interpret and understand the information collected. If these recordings take place, they will only be kept until the final submission of the research report, whereafter they will be destroyed. You may have access to these recordings at any time during the research process. You child may also request that no recordings be made, should you so wish.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if it clear that it would be in your best interest to no longer participate. Your parents / legal guardians will also need to sign a consent form that shows that you have their permission to participate in the research.

8. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Jamie Brassell at jamiebrassell7@gmail.com or 0827572682 or the supervisor at Karlien Conradie karlienl@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

.....

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by _____.

Signature of Participant

Date

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

ADDENDUM E

Interview 1: Questionnaire

Date: _____

Participant number: _____

Dear participant

Thank you for taking the time to help me with my research! The information that you share will contribute to scientific knowledge and can help social scientists in South Africa have a deeper understanding of biculturalism and identity formation. I hope that this will be an interesting and rewarding experience for you!

Here are some things to keep in mind:

- Remember that **your personal details and information will remain confidential** throughout the study. Your name will not be published in the final research report. Anything personal that you share with me during the interviews will also stay private.
- Some of the information that we chat about during the interviews may be quite personal. **You don't have to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with** if you don't want to. You can just let me know if there is anything you don't want to discuss.
- **If possible, I would like to voice record our interviews** so that I can make sure I don't miss anything important that can contribute to the research. The recordings will be kept safe so that only I can access them and will be deleted after I am finished collecting the data. **I will only do the recordings if you are comfortable with it.** If not, then I will just take notes 😊

Here are some questions that we can discuss today:

1. What are your expectations of being a research participant?
2. What does the word 'culture' mean to you?
3. What does the word 'identity' mean to you?
4. If someone were to ask you, "Tell me about who you are?", what would you say?

At **our second interview** on _____, I will ask you some questions about yourself and your interactions with your family members from each culture.

Here are some things that I would like you to think about until then. You can make notes in the space provided if you want to. This may help you to be more prepared for the second interview:

1. When and how did you first start becoming aware that you were being raised within 2 cultures?

2. What kind of traditions do you celebrate with your family from each cultural group?

3. Do you have a preference more towards one of the cultures? Why?

4. What kind of challenges have you experienced as being part of 2 cultures? (e.g. with family, friends, traditions, your own beliefs and values, etc)

8. Think of your friends. Do some of them belong to the same cultural groups as you?
What do you like specifically about your closest friends?

9. Ask some family members from each cultural group to describe you. What do they say?

For our next interview, please bring:

1. as much information about the above questions as you can
2. some photos / videos of your family members from each cultural group doing activities, as well as you interacting with them

I'm looking forward to chatting with you at our next interview. Please let me know if you are unsure about anything or have any questions before then.

You can call or message me: 082 757 2682

Or send me an email: jamiebrassell@dsk.co.za

Have fun!

Jamie

Personality characteristics	Values
observant	family
confident	achievement
independent	physical appearance
creative	social connections
curious	communication
ambitious	fun
courageous	honesty
lazy	kindness
gentle	sharing
funny	independence
intelligent	respect
empathetic	strength
honest	fairness
humble	competition
passionate	money
generous	power
selfish	ambition
tidy	determination
determined	health
leader	hard work
follower	reliability
obedient	punctuality
rebellious	faith
loyal	religion
moral	discipline
reliable	affection
punctual	belonging
spontaneous	good marks at school
supportive	freedom
kind	being grateful
helpful	being humble
organised	teamwork
passionate	uniqueness
easy-going	making a difference
serious	helping the community
sensitive	being expressive
original	respect
patient	leadership
open-minded	being the best
rational	happiness
proactive	adaptability
realistic	self-control
responsible	neatness
respectful	optimism
planner	

ADDENDUM F

Interview schedule:

Participant number:	
Date and time of interview:	
Place of interview:	
Type of interview:	
Length of interview in minutes:	

Questions and explanations are to be adapted based on the level of understanding of the minor participant.

Possible Questions:

1. What does the word 'culture' mean to you?
2. Were you always aware that you were being raised within two cultural groups?
3. Tell me a bit about each of the cultures that you have grown up with.
4. What kind of traditions or celebrations does each culture have? Do you or your family participate in these?
5. What do you like / dislike about each culture?
6. Do you prefer or identify with one of the cultures over the other? (Ask participant to elaborate)
7. What kind of challenges have you experienced with belonging to two cultures? How have you tried to address these challenges? (Provide examples if necessary)
8. How does each culture expect people to behave? (If these are different, explore possible challenges)
9. What kind of personality characteristics do you think each culture expects people to have?
10. Let's look at the characteristics that you circled on the day of the workshop. Which of these do you think link with each culture?
11. Do you think the cultures of your parents have an influence on your personality characteristics? How?
12. What kind of things do you think are important in life? (Explain beliefs and values)
13. Do you think the cultures of your parents have an influence on your beliefs and values? How? How much?

14. How much do you think these values, beliefs and characteristics influence how you interact with your friends?
15. How much do you think these values, beliefs and characteristics influence how you interact with adults who are not family members, such as teachers or your friends' parents?
16. If you could describe yourself in detail to someone who has never met you, what would you say?
17. In what ways do you think your cultures have an effect on the description of yourself that you just gave?
18. How would your friends / teachers describe you?
19. How would family members from each cultural group describe you?
20. Do you ever feel pressure from your family to do certain things or act in certain way?
21. Do you find that you have to change your behaviour or act differently around each cultural group? (Ask participant to elaborate)
22. What do you think has changed about you in the past few years? (Provide examples, e.g. behaviour in high school vs primary school, emotional reactions, friends, values, characteristics, etc).

ADDENDUM G

Photo Elicitation Observation Schedule:

Participant number:	
Date and time of observation:	
Number of photos:	
Number of video clips:	

Main aims of the observation:

1. To observe interactions between the participant and their family members from each cultural group to which they belongs.
2. To assist the participant with answering the interview questions by providing imagery in the form of photos and videos.
3. To create a deeper understanding of the meaning behind the participants responses through visual footage of some of the descriptions.

Research questions to be addressed during observation:

1. Does the participant identify more with one of their cultural groups than the other?
2. What challenges have been encountered by the participant in relation to identity formation and biculturalism?
3. How has biculturalism impacted on the development of values, beliefs, personal characteristics and self-concept for the participant?
4. To what extent does the participant adapt themselves in the presence of each cultural group? (In other words, how much do they have to change their behaviour in order to better 'fit in' with each group?)

Description of observation	Analysis/Implications	No. of research question this observation relates to

ADDENDUM H

Thematic analysis according to research questions: Participant 4

Research questions	Themes			
	Influences on identity formation	Bicultural identification / integration	Challenges of biculturalism	Advantages of biculturalism
RQ1: Identification within each culture	Father's side is more in line with her beliefs and values Mother's culture emphasises respect for elders, but she feels children are not respected	Experiences less conflict in Dad's culture – has a preference for his family More hard-working role models on Dad's side	Doesn't feel a true sense of belonging with either culture, though she identifies more with her dad's side.	Feels she has been exposed to different ways of life and can therefore make more informed decisions about her future
RQ2: Challenges	Feels that Mom's culture expects too much from children	Too much conflict on mother's side has caused her to resist many of their cultural cues, e.g. greeting all family members on arrival Jealousy from some family members	Doesn't feel like she fits in properly with either side Always 'stands out'	Physical appearance: feels her skin tone is too light to fit in with mom's culture and too dark to fit in with dad's culture, but feels she can therefore 'fit in' with a variety of friends
RQ3: Effect on development of personality characteristics and values	Feels she has been influenced by both parents, but has developed her own beliefs / values also based on friend's views	Shares more values / characteristics with Dad and his cultural group	Value clashes between each culture (family goals vs career goals)	Developed / kept her own values. Recognises characteristics in herself from mom and dad, uses as needed
RQ4: Extent of social adaptation	Adapts her behaviour around different groups of friends, as well as family Prefers socialising with family and friends of her dad's culture	Language has to change in presence of each culture (speech, accent, dialect, etc) Refuses to speak Afrikaans (Mom), will only speak English (Dad)	Value clashes with mother's family. Feels her dad's culture values hard work and achievement, while mom's culture is more focused on getting married and having children, home tasks, etc Can't be herself around Mom's family.	Understands two languages, although resistant to speak Afrikaans Able to adapt around others, but stays herself 'on the inside'

ADDENDUM I

To whom it may Concern,

The following letter is written in response to a request made by Jamie Brassell to review and share my thoughts on the findings of her dissertation. I have recently completed my Masters in Educational Psychology at the University of Pretoria and therefore have foundational knowledge in this field of study. I was furthermore brought up in a bi-cultural household (my mother is from the Netherlands and was raised speaking Dutch, and my father is from Pretoria and was raised speaking Afrikaans). Therefore, I might be able to share my personal insight on the topic given my upbringing.

The following stood out to me as my predominant take-aways regarding Ms Brassell's findings:

- In terms of the category "Parents versus peers" (see p.86) I identify with the finding that adolescents adopt values from both parents as well as external sources (most notably derived from my school context). In terms of my value system, values stemming specifically from my Dutch background felt more distinct from my overriding social environment; thus I felt I was more readily aware of the disconnect in relation to my peers.
- The category "School and the community" (pg.87) struck me as distinct with regard to the adolescent years. During this transitory phase I did identify more with my peers. I wonder whether there may be a shift as one moves towards early adulthood, where I have found my values realigned with those of my parents. The contradictory values held by my parents appeared more prominent as I grew older. This may make for an interesting follow-up study.
- In terms of "Awareness of biculturalism" (pg.88) I identify with all the factors listed barring the two referring specifically to ethnicity. The differential experience of those who experience conflict with regard to ethnicity may be more aware of / sensitive to their intersectional status (this relates prominently to the category 'physical appearance'). In my case language, expectations and values were clear indicators of my bicultural status from an early age.

- The category “Development of personality and values” (pg.88) provides a nuanced picture of the factors underlying identity formation. It is difficult to tease apart the ways I recognise whether the way in which I interact with my parents is as a result of acculturalisation, family role definitions or underlying personality factors. This point is an interesting and noteworthy finding, however, further research into the intersection between culture, temperament and personality factors may be a pertinent area for future research. This may be due to inherent ‘nature/nurture’ or ‘chicken/egg’ nature of this question. In terms of peer group integration as it relates to personality characteristics, this may point to the fact that personality characteristics play a significant role in the identity formation of bicultural adolescents.
- The ‘language’ (pg. 88) category touches on a prominent aspect of my experience growing up in a bicultural household. I was brought up bilingual with exposure to both languages occurring during different family events/daily interaction. My Dutch language development, although fluent in my early childhood years, has waned as I grew up and had fewer opportunities to practice that language in other contexts. To this end, I was intrigued by the finding that the participants’ perceptions of the language they spoke most frequently influenced their cultural identity so profoundly. This may speak to the possibility of time/exposure to a certain cultural group (due to location) may reinforce the dominant cultural identity. Nevertheless, I find language to be a pertinent factor in cultural identity.
- In terms of “Level of adaption” (pg. 93) this category spoke to my own experience, and was often the greatest point of contention for me growing up. This may be particularly apparent in the adolescent years, where one’s age status and expected behaviour are heavily influenced by cultural norms. Feelings of ‘not belonging’ expressed by some of the participants is something that I myself found difficult growing up.
- In terms of the theme “Challenges of biculturalism” (pg. 95) I strongly identified with all three categories. The excerpts from the interview struck me as very authentic accounts of the often overlooked difficulties that come with identity formation when parents are not from the same cultural background.

- In terms of the “Advantages of biculturalism”(pg. 98), the findings brought to mind the concept of resilience when faced with unique conflicts and challenges during this stage of life.

After having reviewed the initial themes and subthemes, I found that the summary of findings on p. 111 condense the findings into pertinent factors which I found were true to my personal experience (barring ethnic factors, given my and parents shared race and ethnicity). I found Ms Brassell’s dissertation very insightful, and reading it has provided me with an opportunity to reflect on my own personal experiences growing up. I believe this study is important given the multicultural landscape in which we live. With the rise of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), the increased accessibility of international travel and globalisation as a whole, I believe this study is highly relevant.

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